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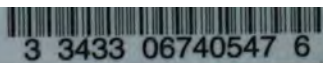
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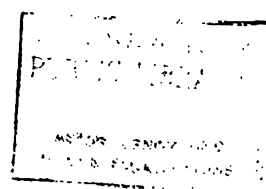
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**COLLEGE
HISTORIES
OXFORD**

PEMBROKE COLLEGE







VIEW BY LOGGIAN (Circa 1675)

University of Oxford

Department of Mathematics

2023

Mathematics

University of Oxford

COLLEGE HISTORIES

PEMBROKE COLLEGE

11255

BY

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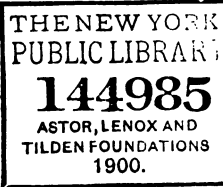
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PREFACE

I MAY be permitted to refer here to my larger *History of Pembroke College*, issued in 1897 by the Oxford Historical Society. Self-abridgment is perhaps the most tolerable form of plagiarism; but when undertaking the present volume in Mr. Robinson's Series I hoped—I do not know with what success—to avoid making it a mere compendium of the other. But for this embarrassing fear of *crambe repetita* the modern part might have been lighter and more anecdotal. I have been glad of the opportunity of correcting some errors, making some points clearer, adding a little new material, and presenting the annals of the College in an easier, more succinct, and more chronological and straightforward form. There is really not much story to tell, and the thing of most interest about a College must still be, in most cases, to recall who and what manner of men have first tasted the vernal life of manhood within its walls, and carried its influences into the outer and larger world. I have usually tried to indicate the men of eminence who were up together; for example, Heywoode and Bonner, Beaumont, Pym, and Corbet, Shenstone and Whitefield, or Lovell Beddoes and Hawker of Morwenstow.

Pembroke is no longer that "youngest Child" of Oxford—"oldest of Halls and newest of Colleges" it used to be called—for which Fuller prayed that it might find in its Mother's love what its comparatively portionless estate lacked from paternal provision. But it is the one distinctively seventeenth-century foundation, bodying the spirit of Jacobean Anglicanism and the middle-class bountifulness of that era; for Wadham, as Mr. J. Wells points out, belongs in the type of its statutes and of its architecture to the Elizabethan age, and (whatever its subsequent history) seems to have had an almost Romanist origin. I have given reasons for thinking that Pembroke is really, as well as nominally, a Royal Foundation, that is to say that it would never have been founded as an independent College but for James I.'s canny and enlightened desire to connect his name, at some one else's expense, with a learned institution.

I have to thank the Oxford Historical Society for permitting me to draw upon the information contained in my larger History. My gratitude for assistance in revising the present pages is due to the same friend and former colleague whose judgment and experience helped me with the earlier work.

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CHAPTER I

BROADGATES HALL

“THE Master, Fellows, and Scholars of the foundation of King James, at the cost and charges of Thomas Tesdale and Richard Wightwicke ” only became a body politic, in the year 1624, after a good deal of misunderstanding and blighted expectation, resulting in a Chancery suit. Tesdale, a benevolent Abingdon merchant with friends in high places, died, indeed, without knowing himself to be the founder of a College. The co-founder Wightwicke, a Berkshire clergyman, had not had any such intention originally. We must ascribe it to the creditable ambitions of the citizens of Abingdon, together with the interest taken by James I. in academic matters, that a bounty which it was proposed should be merely “adjected to a former foundation” was used instead for transforming into an independent College an ancient and famous Hall, where many great Englishmen had been reared in law and literature, but which would otherwise, doubtless, before long have shared the fate of all those unendowed academic institutions that had no collegiate foundation to lean upon.

Broadgates Hall, though its site belonged to Christ Church, and though it shared many of its students with Christ Church, never had the close connexion with that

House which St. Mary Hall has with Oriel College, St. Edmund Hall with Queen's, and which St. Alban Hall had with Merton.

ANTIQUITY.

In the early days of this century Christ Church men used, I believe, to speak of "St. Opposite's," and there were various good-humoured jests about the relation to their ample and princely foundation of Corpus Christi College at the one gate and of Pembroke College opposite to the other. The latter institution, however, as we saw, had a pre-collegiate existence as a place of learning for several centuries before the dissolution by Wolsey of St. Frideswyde's Priory. When incorporated by the first of the Stuarts there was not any breach of continuity, the Visitor, Governor, students, and buildings of Broadgates becoming the Visitor, Governor, students, and buildings of Pembroke. Sir Thomas Browne, who belonged to both, declared in 1624 that there would be "*Eadem jura omnia, idem Magister et Principalis, eadem aedes, nisi quod nobiliores,*" and that Trojan and Tyrian were not more fused than *Lateportensis* and *Pembrochiensis*.

Broadgates Hall, in the early seventeenth century, enjoyed the reputation of being "the oldest of all halls." It is usually described as "old and auntient," "that venerable peice of antiquity." Its low buildings were, in James I.'s reign, "crumbling to their fall with age." "What father or mother of this House do we think upon?" asked Browne. The earliest known student of the Hall is Cardinal Repyngdon, who was made Doctor of Divinity in 1382.

THE NAME.

Anthony Wood, indeed, affirms that the name Broadgates—"Aula cum lata porta," or "Aula Latepor-tensis"—did not become its exclusive designation till the beginning of Henry VI.'s reign (1422), and that before that time it had the name, usually, of Segrym, or Segreve, Hall. "Probably," he says, "the entrance therein was broader than others."* Elsewhere he improves on this peradventure by asserting positively that "a large entrance was made into it about the beginning of Henry VI."† I find, however, in a deed of the year 1364 (38 Edw. III.),‡ mention of "a hall called Brodezates in the parish of St. Ebbe's," which stood in Beef Lane, towards the end of the Pembroke New Buildings, about where Beef Hall used to be. The boundary between St. Ebbe's parish and St. Aldate's runs somewhat east of this,§ and the site usually assigned to our Broadgates Hall lies entirely in St. Aldate's parish. But there can be little doubt about the identification. There were, however, at least six other Halls bearing the same name.

OTHER BROADGATES HALLS.

One, mentioned first in 1362, on Graundpont, in the Folly Bridge direction, was the original abode of the Crutched Friars. Another, "called Broadyates in the 41 Edward III." (1367), was just above the present

* *City of Oxford*, ed. Rev. A. Clark, Oxf. Hist. Soc. i. 564.

† Gutch's *Wood*, vol. iii. p. 614.

‡ Wood, MS. D. 2, p. 224.

§ The crosses let into the wall over Brewers Street, a few yards west of the Chapel, mark the division.

Tom gate of Christ Church, and had been originally a Jewish synagogue. A third, "Little Broadgates Hall," between Brasenose new buildings and Mr. Ryman's shop, was tenanted by luminours (illuminators of manuscripts). There was one Broadgates Hall, if not two, in Schydiere Street (Oriel Lane), which existed before 1317. In 1279 St. John's Hospital is found to own a Broadgates Hall on the north side of High Street, almost opposite to that modern deformity, King Edward's Street. "It hath now," writes Wood, "a brode gate and was a place somtimes of venerable sanctuary for malefactors." It was pulled down in 1661.* But the earliest mentioned Broadgates Hall is one which stood near the old Church of St. Peter le Bailey. This existed before 1220.† Nearly a century earlier the word occurs as an Oxford surname, one Roger Brodgee, also given as Brodgate, holding land of St. Frideswyde's Priory, in or about 1139.‡ In the infancy of surnaming this Roger must no doubt have obtained his addition from his residence, in which case there was a place called "Broadgate" as early as Stephen's reign.

It is natural to think that an academic hostel which already had a long-established name was not likely to take a new and hackneyed designation in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and so run the risk of being confused with the older Broadgates Halls. Probably the Broadgates Hall which came eventually to be the one specially so described—Twyne styles it Great

* *City of Oxford*, Oxf. Hist. Soc. i. 565.

† *Ibid.* i. 218, 564.

‡ *Cartulary of St. Frideswyde's*, ed. Wigram, Oxf. Hist. Soc. i. 19. Wood, having only the form "Brodege" before him, hazards the suggestion, "forte Brodeye ut alibi." MS. D. 2. p. 368.

Broadgates Hall—had been known by this name long before “the beginning of Henry VI.,” though it may also, as Wood maintains, have been styled “Segrym Hall.”

SEGRYM'S GREAT HOUSE.

The Segryms, rich burgesses who had filled the chief offices of magistracy in Oxford from the earliest times—they are mentioned in Domesday—once owned several properties between the city wall and the south side of St. Aldate's Church, and the most prominent member of the family, *Richard Segrym*, in 1254, completed a series of gifts to the Prior and Convent of St. Frideswyde by surrendering under a charter of quit-claim a great messuage *in the angle of the churchyard*, which he had held of the Priory in demesne. For this the canons were to pay a half-penny rent each Nativity of our Lord, to receive him into their fraternity and a share in all their spiritual benefits, and to provide a chaplain canon to celebrate divine service for ever for his own soul, the souls of his father and mother, and the soul of Christina Pady, the twice-widowed daughter of a rich mill-owner, a lady to whom Richard had been, I think, from early years disinterestedly devoted, and near whom he was at last buried in the Priory Church.

SUPPOSED DEPENDENCE OF ST. FRIDESWYDE'S PRIORY.

The *magna domus* thus given to the Priory was very probably, from or before that time, as Wood asserts, “possessed by schollers.” But his belief that it “was a place before (and perhaps after) the Norman Conquest wherein the Novices of that Priory received their first

or juvenile learning,"* is built, it seems, merely on the circumstances that the house was an old appurtenance of St. Frideswyde's, and that St. Aldate's Church is styled, early in the twelfth century, a "minster."† But *monasterium* is often used simply in the sense of a church having a priest or priests attached,‡ and other Oxford churches were so designated. Twyne thinks it was the novices of Abingdon Abbey, which owned a property on the south of the Church, incorporated later into Broadgates Hall, who received their education there. Whatever we think to be the truth about these guesses, there is no reason to dispute that the Hall in the angle of the churchyard may have had an academic existence from at least the time of Henry III., the date of our oldest Colleges. That existence has been unbroken down to our own day.

* Gutch's *Wood*, iii. 614; *City of Oxford*, Oxf. Hist. Soc. i. 563.

† Est in civitate Oxeneford monasterium quoddam Sancti Aldadi episcopi venerationi consecratum." *Abingdon Chronicle*, ed. Rev. Joseph Stephenson, ii. 174.

‡ See Mr. James Parker's *Early History of Oxford*, Oxf. Hist. Soc. p. 292, n.

CHAPTER II

DOCKLINTON'S AISLE

CONNEXION WITH ST. ALDATE'S CHURCH.

ST. ALDATE'S Church had for many centuries a close connexion, first with Broadgates Hall, and then with Pembroke College. To the students of the former the southern portion of it served for Chapel—"peculier and proper to Broadgates, where they daily meete for the celebration of Divine Service."* By those of the latter it was used, the lower part till 1732, as College Chapel, the upper part, till 1710, as College library. The advowson was bestowed on the College in 1636 by King Charles I., but alienated to the Simeon Trustees in 1858. Before the Dissolution the parson was presented alternately by St. Frideswyde's Priory and Abingdon Abbey.

Who St. Aldate was, or whether there was ever a St. Aldate at all, is matter for doubt. "This church," says Wood, "hath bin anciently and commonly called by the names of St. Ald's, St. Old's, St. Olave's, and now at this day, St. Toll's."† In 1358 Walter de Leverton was Rector of "Seynt Holde." The English version

* *Hutten's Antiquities of Oxford in Elizabethan Oxford*, ed. Plummer, *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* i. 201.

† *City of Oxford*, *Oxf. Hist. Soc.* ii. 34.

(c. 1490) of a charter of 1226 mentions "Reginald, Chapelyn of ye church of Seynte Oolde." "Sanctus Aldatus," or "Aldathus," is found in Latin documents, but half a century after the Conquest we read of "Ecclesia S. Aldae." There is a St. Aldate's Church in Gloucester, and from the position of the two churches Mr. James Parker suggests in his *Early History of Oxford* (p. 290, *sq.*) that both in the one case and in the other Aldate is a corruption of Aldgate, *i.e.* Old Gate; and, indeed, this designation is actually found in comparatively recent maps of Oxford. The connexion with a probably mythical fifth century Bishop of Gloucester, St. Eldad, who "in frusta conscidit" the Saxon King Hengist, he dismisses as an idle tale. St. Aldate's, however, in spite of its present uninteresting appearance, is, perhaps, the most ancient of Oxford churches and has some very early features. The south aisle, in the purest Decorated manner, was an addition to the original church, and has in this century been lengthened in both directions, the flowing tracery of the old east window being, however, retained as an ornamental division between the aisle and its continuation.

THE SOUTH AISLE USED BY STUDENTS AS A CHAPEL.

This aisle, called once by the names Trinity Chapel, Docklington's Aisle, or Docklington's Chantry, was built (as well as the tower and steeple*), about 1335, by John de Dokelynton, a rich fishmonger living in Fish Street (now St. Aldate's Street), and several times mayor. While mayor in 1327 he was concerned in the great riot in which Abingdon Abbey was sacked. He,

* The top of the spire was blown down in a storm, March 22, 1689.

"desiring the health of his soule, did to the honor of the Virgin Mary and All Saints institute a perpetual chantry, 9 Edw. III., in a chappell of his own building on the south side of this church. Wherin ordaining a chapleyn to celebrate divine service for his and the soules of his wives, Sibyll and Julian, for the soules of his father and mother, and also of Henry [Burwash] bishop of Lyncoln, while living and when dead, settled on him and his successors for ever an annuall revenew of 5 marks issuing out of severall of his messuages in Oxon." (Wood's *City of Oxford*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., ii. 37.)

Dokelynton's arms, "white fishes in a red circular feild," were in every window three and a half centuries later. The aisle or Chapel, however, seems to have been from an early period rented at a noble for the use of the students of Broadgates, and afterwards of Pembroke. Here worshipped Heywoode "the Epigrammatist," Bishop Edmund Bonner, John Story (executed at Tyburn), Bishop John Jewell, Francis Beaumont, George Peele, William Camden, John Pym, Sir Thomas Browne, Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, Samuel Johnson, and, for a short time, the poet Shenstone.

PRINCIPAL NOBLE'S TOMB.

In this aisle, "under the upper South window," stood, before its removal to its present position in the chancel, the alabaster tomb and recumbent effigy of a Principal of Broadgates, *John Noble*, official of the Archdeacon of Berks. He wears the gown and furred hood of a Bachelor of Laws; the head is tonsured. Noble succeeded Brian Hygdon as Principal in 1508, and died June 2, 1522. This monument is figured in Dr. Ingram's

Memorials of Oxford. There is nothing to mark the place of sepulture of Dokelynton himself. His wife Sibyll lies "in the Lady chapel." Hearne* says: "The Founder of Pembroke Chapell, John de Doclington, he was buried I think in y^e lower End of y^e Chapell."

INTERMENTS FROM BROADGATES AND PEMBROKE.

Other Principals of Broadgates known to have been buried in St. Aldate's were *George Summester*, who enlarged the Hall during his long principalship from 1575 to 1618; *John Budden*, Regius Professor of Civil Law, who died in 1620; and *Thomas Clayton*, Regius Professor of Medicine, who was last Principal of Broadgates and also the first Master of Pembroke. In memory of the Master for whom Johnson had such respect as "a fine Jacobite fellow," and under whom Whitefield and Shenstone matriculated, *Dr. Matthew Panting*, there was formerly a tablet on a pillar in the middle aisle. Among many other members of the Hall or College buried here were *William Darbyshire*, made Prebendary of St. Paul's by the favour of his uncle, Bishop Bonner; *Hamnet Hyde* (died 1620), cousin to the Chancellor, Lord Clarendon; and *Arthur Strode*, cousin of Sir William Strode, one of the Five Members, whose brother, *John Strode*, was also at Broadgates. The latter was, in his day, says Prince, accounted the best bowler, *i.e.* player at bowls, in all England. Arthur Strode died August 25, 1612, aged twenty-three. His brass still remains on the south wall of the aisle, next to that of another young student, *Nicholas Roope*,

* *Collections*, ed. Doble, Oxf. Hist. Soc. iii. 197.

who died April 10, 1613, aged twenty-seven. The brass of Nicholas is inscribed with some punning Latin elegiacs on the Broad and the Strait Gate. Here also lies *William Francklyn*, of Charlton, described as "Collegii Pembrochiaie alumnus dignissimus et munitissimus benefactor," though I find no benefaction recorded beyond £10 for a silver cup and £10 to the College Library.

THE CHAMBER ABOVE THE SOUTH AISLE.

It has already been said that the students of Broadgates and Pembroke had a further link with St. Aldate's Church besides the use of Dokelynton's aisle for daily worship. Above that aisle until 1842, when it was taken down as "dangerous," was a battlemented chamber lit by six square-headed, double-light, Perpendicular windows, and reached by a newel stairway at the south-west external corner.* This picturesque feature of the church may be seen in any old print. It was once a civil law school, and was frequented, like the similar upper chamber in St. Mary's, for lectures and disputations by the students belonging to the adjacent Halls,—Broadgates, Beef, Wolstan, Bole, Moyses, and others. Rowse the Warwickshire antiquary, mentioning two Halls "for legists" which were in situation much closer to St. Ebbe's church, nevertheless describes them as "juxta ecclesiam S. Aldati," for the reason just given. St. Aldate's, indeed, was the centre of the principal district of the town for students of law. Civil law, the first of the "Seven Heavenly Sciences," was the

* Both "the library" and "the chapel" were repaired from time to time by Pembroke College.

dominant study in Oxford from the end of the twelfth century, and a multitude of Inns and Halls grew up for the reception of its followers. Of these the leading one in the south-west quarter of the city was Mickle Broadgates Hall, in the angle of St. Aldate's churchyard.

CHAPTER III

EXPANSION OF BROADGATES HALL

ABINGDON CHAMBERS.

GROWING in numbers this Hall was enlarged towards the east before 1485 (perhaps during the principalship of Thomas Walton, Vice-Chancellor in 1467) by the annexation of a house belonging to the monks of Abingdon, half a rood in extent, and known as *Abingdon Chambers*. When a moiety of the advowson of St. Aldate's was bestowed on the Abbey in the twelfth century, there went with it a piece of land and houses, inside the city, which one may probably identify with this tenement, a few yards only from the church. The story may here be given in Wood's free rendering from the Abingdon Chronicle.* The entire benefice of

"a certain monastery dedicated to the veneration of Saint Aldad, bishop," "did belong to two clerks of Oxon that were brothers called Robert and Gillbert and a priest named Nicholas, who did divide the profitts annually betweene them (Nicolas having half). But it hapned as God would have it" (I speak with the charter) "that the said two brethren afterwards took upon them a monk's habit in the abbey of Abingdon, when Ingulphus was abbat thereof"

* Wood's *City of Oxford*, ed. Clark, Oxf. Hist. Soc. ii. 35.

(which was about the year 1130). "Who straightway gave their lands and tenements which came to them by inheritance to the said abbey.

"Which Nicholas seing, came to the abbat and covent and required them that they would grant him those two parts, which belonged to Robert and Gilbert, to him, and he would pay them 20*s.* yearly rent—and with this condition that, if he changed his habit or profession, it should be in their covent; or else, if he should dye in that preistly profession that he then was in, why! then also his part should come to them and soe they should have all the church to themselves.

"This bargaine was concluded; and he for some time enjoyed it, paying that yearly sum of money that they had bargained for.

"But not long after, Nicholas, being taken with a sudden desease, thought that he should not have escaped death, and therefore (minding the health of his soule) sent a messenger to the monks of Abingdon requiring them to make hast away and put one him a religious habit before he departed this life. Well, they received the messuage; but thinking that Nicholas had not bin soe nigh his end, made delays and did not come at the time expected to put on his habit.

"Nicholas, therefore, waxing worse and worse and falling into a great extasie, his sickness with his desires for a habit came to the eares of the canons of St. Frideswide's; who being neare at hand, came straightway to him, he being as 'twere past knowledge. They, for the hopes of gaine, put on him the habit of their Order and so by force and injury conveyed him to their church.

"But he within a little while after, growing better and better, and Wigodus the prior of Ousney understanding how the case went, came to him and asked him whether

EXPANSION OF BROADGATES HALL 15

he would continue in his habit and live there amongst them. To which he answered that he would rather be cast in a darksome cave then to be detained there, for 'twas alwaies his intent to be at Abingdon, and there to be buried; with severall other expressions of his aversnesse to St. Frideswide's.

"But, to be short, Nicholas was there kept, either by hopes or fair promises of preferment. Where ending his life, was there also buried; and the canons therof got his part of this church (though by severall sutes of law opposed by the Abingdonians) which soe continued to them for ever."

Abingdon Chambers was rented of the Abbey by the Principal of Broadgates for a half-noble, redeemed by Pembroke College in 1866.

NEW COLLEGE BUILDING.

Next to this house, on the site of the north-east corner of the present Old Quadrangle, was a property of New College. This also is found in 1498 to be rented by a Principal of Broadgates. It seems also to be described in 1495 as "Brewer's tenement, belonging to New College w^{ch} stood iuxta ecclām Sth. Aldati et iuxta Brodyates,"* being at that date rented for the use of

* Wood, MS. D. 2, p. 282. But in 1528 we read in the churchwardens' accounts: "Brewers tenement pulled downe by y^e cardinal." Possibly it was a second New College property, on part of the site of the Almshouse. In the New College books was an entry, which Wood was inclined to date 1504, "Will plomer oweth lately y^e ten by Brod gates." Plummer was Bailiff of Oxford c. 1530, when his servant shot two arrows at a scholar's servant. He had a lease of "the oxe close" at Oseney Abbey before 1546, and in that year there was "payd to William Plummer for taking downe the leade of the cloyster and casting hit into sowes, iiij li. iiij s. ij d."—Turner *City Records*, p. 185.

students by Dr. John Agar or Akers. Dr. Brian Hygdon, afterwards Dean of York, rented it *c.* 1505, and his successor in the principalship of Broadgates, John Noble, from 1510. Other principals are found at a later date in occupation. Early in the fifteenth century a famous mediæval prelate, *Thomas Bekynton*, afterwards Lord Keeper and Bishop of Bath and Wells, had had scholars under him there. He was a Fellow of New College and an eminent canonist. In his will he bequeathed to ten students of small fortune tenpence weekly during five years for their maintenance at the University. New College Building must have been large, as the rent paid by the Broadgates principals (except in 1510 when, the prevailing sickness having driven scholars away, it was reduced to 6*s.* 8*d.*) was at first 30*s.* The Halls, however, were reduced to a low pass by Henry VIII.'s ecclesiastical changes, and in 1545 the rent fell to 20*s.*, which was paid till 1866 and then redeemed. A shilling rent paid to Christ Church for a narrow strip of land on the eastern side of this messuage was redeemed at the same time.

THE WOLSEY HOSPITAL.

The extensions of Broadgates Hall to the east proceeded no further. The large building which lay beyond has recently become the property of Pembroke College, completing its natural site in that direction. This was originally a Segrym possession, but it has been called for three centuries and a half the Wolsey Hospital or *Almshouse*. Antony Wood writes :

"Adjoyning South Gate were tenements of the Segryms, burgesses of Oxon at and divers years after the Norman

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Conquest, and held 'in Dominico,' as it should seem, of the Cannons of S. Frideswyde. Afterwards or about those times they were converted into hostels for people of a scholastick and religious conversation. Which continuing for that use till the decay of discipline and doctrine in our University, came to be the possession of the servants and retainers to the said Priory. At length Thomas Wolsey, that heroick and publick-spirited Cardinall, when he converted the said Priory into a College, turned also these tenements into an Hospitall ('πρωχοδοχείον insigne') to receive and have releife from it. But his designs failing before compassed, and falling into the King's hands, this with his College was left imperfect both in its buildings (as it now remaineth) and its revenews. But afterwards King Henry VIII., taking upon him to perfect the college in some sort in its endowment, settled here also the number of 24 almsmen and each to have £6 per annum; which continueth soe to this day." (*City of Oxford*, ed. Clark, Oxford Historical Society, i. 193.)

Wood is incorrect, I believe, in saying that Henry VIII. settled the almsmen here. When he died no separate lodging had been provided for them, the Dean and prebendaries of Christ Church merely covenanting to find the bedesmen "in the said cathedrall chorche." And though the Almshouse had for a considerable period before 1868 accommodated sixteen of the Eleemosinarii, it, or part of it, was at one time a timber-yard. The name "le Almshouse" belonged to it before Henry VIII. thought of providing for a few of his old soldiers and sailors. Cardinal Wolsey pulled down several buildings on the site, among them one belonging to Magdalen, and "constructed it anew." The open

timber roof still to be seen there is said to have been brought by him from Oseney Abbey.

BROADGATES HALL.

In Agas's "type" or map of 1578 the Wolsey Hospital is shown as quite a large quadrangular pile. The tenements making up *Broadgates Hall* and its annexes are scattered, irregular, and unimposing. There seems to be a wide entrance at the place where the present back gates give on to the strip of ground, planted with trees, separating the College from the Almshouse (the 12*d.* rent of which was collected by the almsmen). At the back is to be seen the upper portion of the thirteenth-century town-wall on which the College stands, and just inside this ran the *Via Regia*, reserved as an open space for military purposes, but on which houses commonly encroached. In 1380 (4 Ric. II.) we find the wall to the west of South Gate, and one of the bastions (turrellum) of the Gate itself, occupied by Walter Benham, a "ffysh mongere," who lived in an adjoining house with his wife Emma and two maid-servants, and who also rented of the town for 4*d.* a certain enclosed lane called "*la Hamele*" hard by St. Aldate's churchyard. This hamel is doubtless the way leading to the College. The west bastion of South Gate stood at the turning into Brewers Street, and the fishmonger's door, facing Fish Street (now St. Aldate's Street), was close to it. It follows that his dwelling stood on part of the site of the Almshouse, and as he rented "*la Hamele*" it probably occupied the whole site of it. This breaks into Wood's theory of "hostels for people of a scholastick and religious

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conversation." One James Procter occupied the place when Wolsey began to rebuild it.

THE OLD DINING HALL.

Of *Broadgates Hall* itself the only building—a good deal altered—which remains is the *Refectory*, now the College Library. The Perpendicular doorway, with a window over it, which may be seen in prints prior to 1829, show that it was built in the fifteenth century. The Hundred Rolls say, under date 1278, that the Prior and Convent of St. Fredeswide hold a tenement with its appurtenances given them by Richard Segrym in perpetual alms without any rent, of the value of 40*s.* yearly. This sum was paid "for divers generations" by the principals. But the Priory let it to Principal Noble in 1517 for 30*s.*, "yea, for 20*s.*, on the principal repairing of it"; and at the Dissolution, when Oxford was denuded of scholars, the rent fell to 13*s.* 4*d.* Pembroke paid £1 to Christ Church till 1866, when the College redeemed it, together with the rent on Abingdon Chambers, for £40. The two are called in 1654 "the Colledg Rent."

CAMBEY'S LODGINGS.

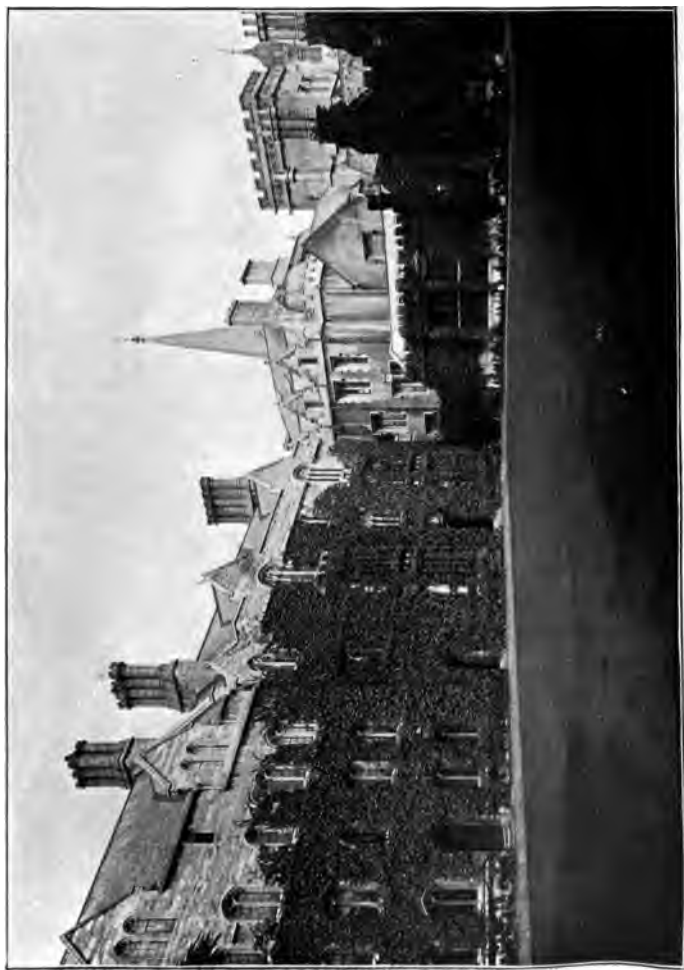
There was also extension towards the north and west. Where the Master's Lodgings now stand, or a few feet further back, was a large house belonging to the Priory, and tenanted at the beginning of Henry VIII.'s reign by one John Cambye, Cambey, or Cambraye, and his wife Margaret, who are both buried in St. Aldate's. Principal Noble was desirous to obtain more accommodation for his students, and about 1517 *Cambey's Place*

was "built anew" by its occupant for the reception of Broadgates scholars.* The antiquary Miles Windore (1541-1624) called the house "Veale Hall"—probably from some connexion with the very ancient Oxford family of Viel. But "Hall" always signifies a house for scholars, and there is none so named in any of the lists.

In 1549—about which time the Hall contained forty-one "socii"—some difference happening between the Principal of Broadgates (either Weston, the Irish Lord Chancellor, or Randolph, the ambassador) and the owner, the former had to withdraw his clerks and the building remained vacant. But inns once used for scholastic purposes could not be diverted to domestic uses at pleasure, and Cambey's "at length, the privileges of the University being urged and produced, were brought to their use againe, and annexed to the said hall of Broadgate, which continued to the last state therof." When the property of the Priory was confiscated, Cambey's passed to a lay proprietor, Thomas Owen, B.C.L., of Elsfield, Fellow of New College 1536, who on November 7, 1587, sold it to Dr. William Tooker, a west country dignitary and chaplain to the Queen, Fellow of New College 1577, Dean of Lichfield 1602.† On July 22, 1596, Dr. Tooker

* It is described, however, in the St. Aldate's accounts of 1534 as "a tenement lying by brodgates now in y^e tenure of mris Camby 8*d*. p. ā." (Wood, MS. D. 2, p. 67.)

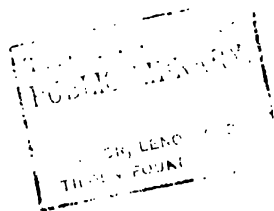
† Dr. Tooker, who wrote against the Jesuits, defending the *charisma* of touching for the Evil as resident in post-Reformation kings of England, is described by Wood as "an excellent Grecian and Latinist, an able divine, a person of great gravity and piety, and well read in curious and critical authors." (*Ath. Ox.* i. 385.)



From a photograph by the

THE COLLEGE, LOOKING EAST

(Oxford Camera Club



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sold the place to *George Summaster*, Principal of Broadgates for more than forty-three years (1575-1618), who "for the most part" rebuilt it. It was to this Principal that Henry Jackson dedicated the first edition of Hooker's two sermons in 1614. In 1583 there were thirty-eight entries at Broadgates, in 1581 forty-eight.

MINE HALL, or SUMMASTER'S.

Principal Summaster, however, had since 1575 rented another building to the west of Cambey's, called Mine or Minote Hall, which also had once been tenanted by the before-mentioned John Cambey, who died in 1540. Magdalen College, formerly St. John Baptist's Hospital without East Gate, was receiving in 1541 a rent for this of 3s. 4d., not redeemed till the year 1781. It is probable that *Minote Hall* is to be distinguished from *Mine Hall*, and placed on the north side of St. Aldate's Church, though it too belonged to St. John's Hospital.* It had its name from Robert le Mignot, provost of Oxford about 1233, who endowed St. John's Hospital at various times with properties in St. Aldate's parish.

* In 1293 "Aula Minot iuxta cimiterium S. Ald." paid the Brethren 20s. In 1328 it was a house for clerks, and rented by the rector of St. Aldate's at 30s. Continuing as an academical hostel, we find in 1487 "the hall called Minote" tenanted by Mr. Grey, vicar of Bloxham, paying 23s. 8d. But from the beginning of the fifteenth century it was changing its name, being described more than once as "tenementum Robⁱ Minote Aula vocat. Iohannis in parochia S. Aldati." It is identified by Wood with Polton Hall, and Philip Polton, Fellow of All Souls and Archdeacon of Gloucester (who built in 1455 the north aisle of St. Aldate's Church, afterwards called St. Saviour's Chapel, otherwise Aldaster's Chantry) was certainly principal of St. John's Hall in 1458. But Rowse, in his list made before 1491, seems to identify "Polton" with the hall to the west of Cambey's.

At any rate Mine Hall was occupied by the scholars of Broadgates from 1575—Standish, Registrar 1552–1579, has in his register of Halls that had ceased to exist independently, “Min Hauille nunc in tenura principalis de Brodegates”—and thereafter changed its name to Summaster’s Lodgings. Between it and Cambey’s was St. John’s Entry, for which a rent of 12*s.* was paid *temp.* Edward II. to the Hospital.

NUN HALL.

One other lodging seems to have been provided by Principal Summaster for his students, but it was not within the limits of the present College, and I only find it mentioned in Twyne’s *Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis Apologia*, 1608, viz. “*Nunhall* in tenura Principalis Latarum Portarum.” Perhaps this Nun Hall is the same as the Little Bedell Hall, belonging to the nuns of Stodley, which stood close to Mine Hall, on the other side of Beef Hall Lane, and west of the passage from Pennyfarthing (Pembroke) Street, on the site, I think, of one of the old houses which now belong to the College.

NUMBERS AT BROADGATES.

It is clear then that shortly before its extinction as a Hall Broadgates was flourishing in point of numbers. In the vacation of 1612 a hundred and thirty-one members were estimated as belonging to it, viz., forty-seven graduates, sixty-two scholars, and twenty-two servitors and domestics, who were of course much more of the *familia* than College servants are now. The only larger bodies were Queen’s, Magdalen, Christ

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Church, Brasenose, Exeter, and Magdalen Hall. In that year 1612 was published at Oxford a small quarto, with woodcuts, called *Eidyllia in Obitum fulgentissimi Henrici Walliae Principis duodecimi, Romaeque ruentis terroris maximi*, containing thirty or forty poems, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Turkish, Greek and Latin, written almost entirely by Broadgates men. The editor was "Jacobus Aretius," i.e. *James Martin*, a German.

It is not clear that any of the hostels lying westward of Mine Hall, and now incorporated into the College, were acquired by the principals of Broadgates Hall for the entertainment of their scholars. Mention will be made of these in a subsequent chapter. A ground-plan of the College will be found on page 115.

CHAPTER IV

CIVIL LAWYERS

SOME PRINCIPALS.

IT has been said that Broadgates Hall was the chief resort of the students of law. Its Principals accordingly were men who had made some mark as civilians and canonists. One of the earliest of these, whose names are preserved, was *William Wytham* (1436), parson of St. Mary le Bow and of St. Michael, Cornhill, Archdeacon of Stow and of Leicester, and Dean of Bath and Wells. He acted from 1448 as Dean of the Peculiars. *Thomas Walton* (1458) was Vice-Chancellor or Commissary in 1467. *Brian Hygden* (1505), Dean of York and Canon of St. Paul's, was brother of John Hygden, the first Dean of Christ Church, and played a considerable part in the north. He was on the Council of Henry VII.'s natural son, the Duke of Richmond, and gained credit as a Commissioner in 1526 for signing a treaty of peace with the Scots King. Hygden was in turn the friend of Wolsey and of Cromwell. Before his death, June 5, 1539, his intellect gave way. He lies buried in the south-cross aisle of York Minster, to which he presented a cope. Anthony Wood styles him "a Benefactor to learning," and a Fellowship was founded by him at Brasenose. *Richard Arch* or *Archer*

(1526) was Canon of Sarum, Dean of Windsor, and chaplain to King Henry VIII. *George Wymmesley* (1532), a relative of Bonner's (according to Bonner's enemies his base-born brother), was Canon of St. Paul's and of Chester, Archdeacon of London and of Middlesex. A more famous Principal (1537), was Bonner's Chancellor, *John Story*, "a most noted Civilian and Canonist of his time," and the first Regius Professor of Civil Law.

"Afterwards performing excellent service at the Siege of *Bologne* in *Picardie*, in the administration of the Civil Law under the *Lord-Marshall* there, the King, in consideration thereof, did renew his former grant of the said Lecture in form of Letters Patent for the term of life of the said *John*, in the year 1546 or thereabouts, joyning with him for his ease Mr. *Rob. Weston*, Fellow of All Souls College."

Story spoke boldly in Edward's first Parliament against the changes introduced under the name of the child king, was imprisoned—the first such punishment on record—by the House of Commons, and found it advisable to retire into Flanders, spending most of his exile in prayer and meditation with the Carthusians of Louvain. Under Mary he was Dean of the Arches and Chancellor of the London and Oxford dioceses, was employed to restore the roods and images, and acted as Queen's Proctor at the trial of Cranmer in St. Mary's. Opposing the admission of papal licences into the realm, Story was reported by the House of Commons to the Queen. But his ruthless repression of the new opinions, and a passionate speech against their abettor, the Princess

Elizabeth, led at her accession to Story's escape, after a third conflict with the Commons, across the seas, where he became a trusted instrument of Alva. As an expert in the Civil Law he was appointed by the Duke to search merchant vessels for English contraband, but was trapped on board one of them and lodged in the Tower of London. On one of the walls he has carved his name. Audaciously refusing to plead, and declaring himself no subject of Elizabeth's, he was drawn and quartered, after a horrible scene, June 1, 1571. "Blessed John Story"* was an unflinching and consistent, as well as a learned, product of a wolfish but great age. On the same side in religion were *William Jeffrey* (1539), Chancellor of Sarum 1553-8, *John Williams* (1541), Archdeacon and Chancellor of Gloucester 1554-8, and *James Gervays* (1555) who succeeded Reynolds as Warden of Merton. *Thomas Yonge*, however (entered Broadgates about 1528, Principal 1542-5), was one of the Marian exiles. At Elizabeth's accession he became Bishop of St. Davids, President of the Marches of Wales, Archbishop of York and President of the North. There was a conspiracy against his life in 1565. In fear of Elizabeth's displeasure against married prelates, Archbishop Yonge did not venture to take a spouse till late in life, and it was to provide for a son, the issue of this union, that he dismantled and sold a great part of the old palace at York, leaving as a See residence only the manor house at Bishopthorpe. Dying in 1568 he was buried in York Minster. A not less important part in public

* Story's life and martyrdom were long one of the regular themes in the English College at Rome; but he was not beatified till December 29, 1886.

affairs was taken by *Robert Weston*, LL.D., Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, Member for Exeter and for Lichfield, Dean of Wells and of St. Patrick's, but (it would seem) never in holy orders. Though he had acted as deputy Regius Professor of Civil Law for Story (at which time he was Principal of Broadgates) and been Dean of Arches in Mary's reign, Weston was "*Elizabethae Reginae praecharissimus*." On his fine monument in St. Patrick's he is said to have been "so learned, judicious and upright, all the time that he was Lord Chancellor, that no Order or Decree that he made was ever questioned." The monument to his son in Christ Church says of the father that he subdued the Irish rebels "*non tam potentia quam sanctitate*."

An even more eminent personage in State transactions was *Sir Thomas Randolph*, Walsingham's brother-in-law, pupil of Buchanan and friend of Bishop Jewell, who calls him "*ad Scotos legatus integerrimus*." One of the earliest students of Christ Church, he succeeded Lord Chancellor Weston as Principal of Broadgates November 21, 1549, but his tenure of office was troubled by disputes about religion. On June 20, 1550, we find Thomas Darbshire and ten other scholars of his Hall delating him to the Vice-Chancellor on various charges. This *Thomas Darbshire*, "a noted lawyer and Jesuit," has been mentioned as Bonner's nephew, and himself became Principal in 1556; he was also Archdeacon of Essex. In James I.'s time he was quoted as a chief authority for the Nag's Head fable.* When, soon after Mary's accession, Jewell was forced to leave Corpus Christi, Randolph, still Principal, invited him to take

* Strype, *Life of Parker*, i. 118.

up his residence in Broadgates. On October 14 of that year Randolph found himself compelled to resign, being succeeded in his principalship by *Thomas Stempe*, afterwards Warden of Winchester College, "famous for his knowledge of the civil and canon laws, of theology and music." A few months later Jewell writes to Parkhurst that he and Randolph are subsisting at Broadgates, "wretchedly enough, yet better perhaps than they desired to whom our being alive is a vexation." Randolph retired to France, but when Elizabeth became Queen he was singled out by her and by Cecil as one of the most trusted agents of the Crown. He was thrice ambassador to the Scots Queen (being one of the small number who were privy beforehand to the murder of Rizzio) and seven times to her Son, besides executing delicate missions to the Courts of Russia and of France. He "painfully spent his time in the continual service of his Prince and Country, at home and abroad."* Disguises, imprisonment, and attempted assassination lent variety to his career. Randolph's correspondence with the English Government is one of our chief sources of information upon contemporary Scottish history. Another Principal of Broadgates Hall has been mentioned, *John Budden* (February 1, 1618-9), Regius Professor of Civil Law, who had been Principal of New Inn Hall: "a person of great Eloquence, an excellent Rhetorician, Philosopher, and a most noted Civilian"; also eminent in "astronomy and geometry." He owed his appoint-

* The Halls were less open than the Colleges to Bacon's reproach that so many great foundations were dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences alone; whence "princes find a solitude in regard of all men to serve them in causes of state." (*Advancement of Learning.*)

ment to Broadgates to a promise made to King James by the Earl of Pembroke, then Chancellor, that he would confer the first principalships that fell vacant on the Professors of Law and Medicine. Dying in Broadgates June 11, 1620, Dr. Budden's remains were carried to the Divinity School, where a public panegyrick was pronounced upon him, and thence to St. Aldate's Church, and there interred in the chancel. He is remembered by his Lives of Waynflete and of Morton, and other literary relics. On June 24 the Chancellor nominated in his room the last person to hold the Principal's office, *Dr. Thomas Clayton*, Regius Professor of Physick, afterwards the first Master of Pembroke College.

TUMULTUOUS CLERKS.

Concerning the domestic annals of Broadgates Hall, as of similar institutions, there is not much to relate—chiefly the record of brawls between clerks and citizens, or on one occasion—viz. in the year 1446—between the Principal and Fellows of Broadgates and the Principal and Fellows of Pauline Hall. The latter quarrel was composed, with mediæval frankness, simplicity and picturesqueness, by the interchange of the kiss of peace, and mutual pardon asked on bended knee, before the shrine of St. Frideswyde.*

* The office of daysman between disputants was not always unattended by peril. Master Thomas Reynolde, Principal of St. Michael Hall (now part of Pembroke College) 1458, was as Southern Proctor in 1452 mediator *pro bono pacis Universitatis* between the scholars of "Peckwadir" Inn and those of St. Edward's Hall: "inter quos ex eventu doloroso grave vulnus recepit."

CARDINAL REPYNGDON.

St. Frideswyde's Cross witnessed a more serious and famous marshalling of forces when *Dr. Philip Repyngdon*, an Augustinian Canon studying law in Broadgates, preached, June 5, 1382, in the presence of the Chancellor and an approving crowd, a violent Lollardite sermon, for which sermon "there was not a little joy throughout the whole University," says Foxe. Two days later he publicly disputed in the Schools, averring that his own order was better when ten years old than when a thousand. The excited and armed Scholars menaced the Friars with death, and blood might have flowed had not Archbishop Courtenay, with much promptitude, procured letters from the King suspending Repyngdon and his co-offender Herford from all academical acts, and ordering the instant banishment from Oxford of any who should receive them or Wyclif himself within their Houses or Inns. Repyngdon, appealing in vain to John of Gaunt and to Convocation, formally submitted at a Synod held by the Archbishop at St. Frideswyde's, and thenceforth transferred his energies to the reactionary side. In 1394 he became Abbot of St. Mary de Pré. As Cardinal Bishop of Lincoln (1405-1420) he repressed Lollardite opinions with much severity, but disregarded, however, the order of the Council of Constance for the exhumation and burning of the bones of his old teacher, the Parson of Lutterworth, which was in his diocese. Repyngdon is described in one of the statutes of the University as one who "feared God, loved truth, and hated avarice." He was a benefactor to Cobham's Library, and Oxford chose him to be her

Chancellor in 1397, 1401, and 1402, besides inscribing his name on the diptych by which at the altar of St. Mary's memory should be made for ever of the benefactors of the University. In 1413 Repyngdon proposed to hold a Visitation of the University on account of the prevalence of heresy. Another early name is that of *Nicholas de Upton*, lawyer, soldier and ecclesiastic, one of our first native authorities on the art of war and heraldry. He obtained the canonisation of St. Osmund from Nicholas V., and fought against the Maid of Orleans. Wood avers that Broadgates was a noted receptacle, then and later, for Somerset men.

EFFECT OF THE REFORMATION.

The Reformation began that disendowment of the poor scholar which it was reserved for the nineteenth century to complete. The monastic revenues confiscated, the more indigent students lost their exhibition and means of support. The mediæval grammar schools were closed. The University was now "almost destitute of scholars." Only a few Halls survived, but one of them was *Lata Porta*. In 1552, when the University Matriculation Book is first mentioned, it had forty-one "socii." It had become, as an appurtenance of the Priory and of Abingdon Abbey, the property of the Crown, but was presently granted to King Henry VIII.'s College, afterwards called Christ Church—"certene chamberes within Brodyats latlie belonginge to the late monasterye of Abendon," and "a parcelle of lands within Brodyats, parcelle of the possessione of the late colledge of Frideswids."*

* Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ii. p. 167.

BONNER AND TREGONWELL.

As a principal resort of the civilians, the opinion of Broadgates Hall carried weight when Henry VIII. sought the sentence of the University in favour of the nullity of his union with the ill-used Catherine. The Oxford fame of two experienced Broadgates lawyers, *Edmund Bonner* and John (afterwards *Sir John Tregonwell*) had attracted the notice of Wolsey and through him of the King, by whom they were employed on embassies respecting the Divorce and as proctors in the cause. The latter became a principal agent of Cromwell, and was rewarded with the rich Abbey of Milton, where his tomb remains. He was a Privy Councillor, a Master in Chancery, chief Admiralty Judge, Chancellor of the Bath and Wells diocese, Sheriff of Dorset and of Somerset, and represented Scarborough in Parliament. Tregonwell afterwards sided with the reaction.* Bishop Bonner also went with the reforming party a good way, gave Londoners "an open Bible," and is the author of the Homily on Charity—"simple, clear and forcible," Milman calls it. Alarmed by the lengths to which change was being pushed, he threw his coarse but, Green considers, not unkindly nature into the work of repression.

BONNER'S POTT.

For a century and a half after his residence at Broadgates there remained a curious memento of him in the shape of "Bonner's Pott." This prelate entered the Hall about 1512 in the humble capacity of scullion,

* A descendant, Colonel Thomas Tregonwell, is mentioned in Wood's list of Cavaliers from Pembroke College.

but was promoted to a servitorship, "and so by his industry rayseed to what he was." When a Bishop, not ashamed of having risen by that ladder of learning of which modern reforms have cut away most of the rungs, and "in acknowledgement whence he had his rise, he gave to the kitchin there a great brasse-pott." Aubrey remembered having seen this cauldron, "the biggest, perhaps, in Oxford." When Oxford was occupied by the Parliament soldiers, it was "taken away from the College," no doubt because of the name it bore, and in 1674 Wood could find no recollection of it at Pembroke. Bonner took the degree of Bachelor of the Canon Law June 12, 1519, and that of Bachelor of the Civil Law July 18 following. He was "a great master of the Canon Law, being excelled in that faculty by very few of his time."

SOME OTHER LAWYERS.

A famous common lawyer of the former half of the sixteenth century, who played no part in politics, was *Sir James Dyer*, author of the lucid *Reports*. He entered Broadgates as a Commoner aged sixteen, and left without a degree about 1530. He was chosen Recorder of Cambridge, Knight of that shire, and Speaker of the short-lived Parliament of 1553. Queen Mary made him a Justice, and Elizabeth Lord Chief Justice, of the Common Pleas. He presided over several famous political trials, and enjoyed a high reputation for integrity and learning. "The good Lord Dyer" took in marriage Margaret Abarrow, widow of the author of the *Boke of the Governour*, Sir Thomas Elyot, and both lie in the church of Much Stoughton.

In the south aisle of Westminster Abbey Church is the fine gilded and painted monument of another honest Judge of the Common Pleas, *Thomas Owen* (B.A. 1559). "A learned man," says the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, "and a great lover of learning and those that professed it." Dean Stanley says that his effigy in the Abbey is like the portrait of him at Candover. His widow, Dame Alice Owen, has been recalled to the public lately by Mr. Frampton's pleasing bronze and marble statue for a school and hospital endowed by her at Islington as a thankoffering for an escape in childhood, when an arrow pierced her hat. Some other Broadgates jurists were the following: *William Fleetwood*, Recorder of London 1571-91, Queen's Serjeant 1592, "a learned Man and a good Antiquary; but of a marvelous merry and pleasant conceit." *William Martyn*, Recorder of Exeter (1605), a stout Puritan whose work on the Kings of England brought him into some trouble with King James. For the benefit of his son, *Nicholas Martyn*, then studying at Broadgates, afterwards knighted, Sheriff (1639) of Devon, and a member of the Long Parliament, he penned *Youth's Instruction* (1612). His cousin, *Richard Martyn*, succeeded another Broadgates man, *Sir Anthony Benn* (B.A. 1587),* as Recorder of London, 1618. Selden much admired him, and Jonson dedicated *The Poetaster* to him. "King James was much delighted with his facetiousness. He was a plausible Linguist, and eminent for several speeches spoken in Parliament, for his poems also and witty

* Jonson writes to Benn in one of his Epigrams—

"Thou art the cause whose manners, since I knew,
Have made me to conceive a lawyer new."

discourses." His monument was formerly in the Temple Church. Fuller styles Martyn "one of the highest Witts of our Age and his Nation." A fine monument in York Minster marks the resting-place of *Henry Swinburne*, once Judge of the Prerogative Court of York. Sir Matthew Hale's father, *Robert Hale*, entered Broadgates in 1580, but afterwards renounced the lawyer's profession through "tenderness of conscience." Three brothers of Lord Keeper Littleton, *William* (1609; Serjeant-at-Law), *James* (B.A. 1618, a Master in Chancery; Chancellor of Worcester), and *John Littleton* (M.A. 1624; ejected by the Parliament from his place as Master of the Temple) were members of the Hall. *Thomas Sanderson* (matr. 1587), brother of Lord Castleton and cousin of Bishop Sanderson, became treasurer of Lincoln's Inn (1628), and *Thomas Barker* (matr. c. 1581), treasurer of the Middle Temple (1623). Several lawyers sat for Cornish constituencies. *Robert Sanderson* (matr. 1579), elder brother of Thomas just named, represented West Looe in one of Elizabeth's parliaments. *William Carnsewe* (matr. 1576), Fellow of All Souls, sat for Camelford. Four of the Trefusis name came to the Hall, of whom *John Trefusis* (matr. 1605) was burgess for Truro. I will add here the names of *Sir Henry Thynne*, of Longleat, and his brother *John Thynne*, who entered together in 1583: the latter represented New Lymington and Westbury; of *Sir Philip Kyghley* (matr. 1583), who was elected for Evesham in 1604; and of *John Perrott* (matr. 1580), son of Sir John Perrott, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and brother of Sir James, one of King James' "ill-tempered spirits."

CHAPTER V

A NURSERY OF LETTERS

I HAVE hitherto spoken of Broadgates Hall as a nursery merely of civil and canon lawyers. In 1566, Bishop Robinson, speaking of nine Halls, the number of the Muses, which had survived the Reformation—about one in twenty,—describes *Lata Porta*, together with New Inn and White Halls, as “*Studiis civilibus apta*.” But in the sixteenth century, and down to the date of its new birth at the end of James I.’s reign, the Hall was also eminent for a brilliant array of men of letters. Law no longer held a monopoly of influence and esteem. New learning and new thoughts were in the air. A different class of student also had begun to come to the Universities, youths of gentle nurture and good prospects, a generation idler, gayer, livelier and more literary. These resorted mostly to the Halls, where discipline was less straitly enforced. Fitzherbert at the very end of the century says that the Halls were to a great extent made over to young men of fortune and rank, living at their own charges.*

Of the older type of clerk, however, was *John Heywoode*, Pope’s “Eldest Heywood,” “a lineal descen-

* *Elizabethan Oxford*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., *Oxoniensis Academia Descriptio*, p. 16.

dant of the mediæval minstrels," who entered Broadgates about 1511, a year before Bonner. He received a payment, from 1515 till Elizabeth's accession, as "player of the King's Virginals," and with his "children," or boy-actors, performed some of his farcical interludes, or Mixed Plays, a style of drama which he originated, before successive Tudor sovereigns. His good-humoured satires on pardoners, palmers, freres and the like were merrier than his tedious and severely orthodox "parables," such as the *Spider and the Flea*. Sir Thomas More, Heywoode's friend and neighbour at North Mims, helped him with the *Epigrams*. One of these gives a proverb current in Oxfordshire: "Send verdingales to Broadgates Hall in Oxon." On which Fuller remarks:

"This will acquaint you with the Female Habit of former ages, used not only by the gadding *Dinaks* of that age, but by most sober *Servks* of the same, so cogent is a common custom. With these Verdingales the Gowns of Women beneath their Wastes were penthoused out far beyond their bodies, so that posterity will wonder to what purpose those Bucklers of pasteboard were employed. These by degrees grew so great that their wearers could not enter (except going sidelong) at any ordinary door, which gave occasion to this proverb. But these verdingales have been discontinued this forty years."

Heywoode narrowly escaped Tyburn, in Henry VIII's reign, for denying the supremacy. By Edward, however, he was "well benefited for the myrth and quickness of his conceits." Mary "much valued" his intimacy, but at her death he took refuge in Brabant,

where he died in exile at a great age. His son, Jasper Heywoode, was first Provincial of the English Jesuits.

Of the great Elizabethans, several were at Broadgates. *George Peele*, "the Atlas of Poetrie," entered from Christ's Hospital in March, 1571, at an early age, and after "going through the several forms of Logic and Philosophy he took the degrees of Arts," B.A. in 1577, M.A. in 1579. Peele's extraordinary poetical promise brought him fame in the University, and the *Tale of Troy* was penned while a student of Christ Church. His subsequent too brief career was one of alternate triumph and neglect, brilliant execution and profligate wretchedness. Shakespeare, as a non-academic writer with his "small Latin and less Greek," had to reckon with the rivalry of the "University wits," of whom Peele was the most gifted. Campbell calls him "the oldest genuine dramatic poet of our language." Heywoode and Peele exemplify the literary bent of the sixteenth-century Oxford clerk, but the class of gentlemen wits and scholar poets is better represented by such as *Sir Edward Dyer*, Chancellor of the Order of the Garter and Elizabeth's Envoy to the Low Countries (1584) and to Denmark (1589), who wrote "My mind to me a kingdom is,"—he was buried in 1607 in St. Saviour's, Southwark,—or *Sir Fulke Greville*, Lord Brooke, Dyer's and Sidney's beloved friend, whose romantic career came to a violent end by murder, September 30, 1628. Both, it is thought, may have studied at Broadgates.

The great poet and dramatist, *Francis Beaumont*, son of Judge Francis Beaumont, of Grace Dieu, entered February 4, 1594, at the age of twelve, and remained at

the Hall nearly three years, at the end of which he left somewhat suddenly, in consequence of his father's death, together with two brothers who had matriculated with him. The elder of these, *Sir John Beaumont*, is remembered by *Bosworth Field*—"the bound, the frontier of our poetry" (Jonson)—and other fine poems: "a gentleman of great learning, gravity, and worthiness." Of the same year was *Sir John Dryden*, a noted Puritan, uncle of the poet Dryden,* and grand-uncle of Swift. Honor Dryden was his daughter. *William Dryden*, another uncle, entered the Hall in 1607. Earlier in Elizabeth's reign a famous soldier and historian, *Sir George Carew*, Earl of Totnes, was entered at Broadgates as a Gentleman-Commoner in 1564, aged ten, and remained for seven years at Oxford, where he "made a good proficiency in learning, particularly in the study of antiquities." Brilliant exploits in the field led to his becoming Ambassador to France, Master of the Irish Ordnance, and Treasurer at War, Lord President of Munster, and Commander of the Royal Forces in Ireland. Carew's *Pacata Hibernia* has recently been reprinted. His sire, Dean *George Carew*, who, like the Arminians, seems to have held most of the deaneries and canonries in England,† and his kinsman, *Richard Carew*, of East

* One could wish that he too had chosen "Athens" rather than "Thebes," and been sent perhaps to Broadgates. It may be worth recording that the "young Mr. Rogers of Gloucestershire" whose death Dryden deplored was uncle, I think, of a Gentleman-Commoner of Pembroke, whose grandson, *Richard Rogers Coxwell-Rogers*, High Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1857 (matric. Pembroke 1822), died only two years since.

† Bishop Morley, being asked what the Arminians held, gave some such answer. The deprived Bishop Bourne lived in Dean Carew's custody.

Anthony—"another Livie, another Mars, another Papi-
nian" (Jonson)—author of the highly readable *Historical
Survey of Cornwall* (1602), of which county he was
High Sheriff in 1586, were both members of the Hall.
Another Broadgates (and Exeter) topographer, *Tristram
Risdon*, son of a Recorder of Totnes, wrote a *Survey of
the County of Devon*. Mr. Elliot Stock is now pub-
lishing Risdon's *Note Book* from the MS. at Exeter
Cathedral. Contemporary at the Hall with Lord
Totnes and Richard Carew were *Sir John Pakington*, of
Westwood Park, Elizabeth's favourite, but an ill hus-
band of opportunity; *Sir Edward Lucy*, of Charlcote,
brother, it appears, of Shakespeare's Justice Shallow;*
Sir Stephen Powel, or *Pole*; and other "notae prae-
stantioris viri"; and all these were intimates at the Hall,
and shared the antiquarian tastes,† of *William Camden*,
one of the most illustrious of Broadgates names.
Camden entered Magdalen as a servitor in 1566, aged
sixteen, but, being disappointed of a demy's place, he
presently migrated "ad antiquissimam Aularum Late-
portensem." There he remained continuously for two
years and a half, under the tuition and teaching of a

* A younger brother, *Timothy Lusie*, took B.A. from Broadgates
1567.

Shallow. I dare say my cousin William is become a good scholar.
He is at Oxford still, is he not?

Silence. Indeed, sir, to my cost.

Shallow. A' must then to the inns o' court shortly. I was once of
Clement's Inn.—*Second Part of King Henry IV.* Act iii. Sc. 2.

† Two earlier Broadgates antiquaries were *Sir John Rhese*, or
Prise, M.P. for Brecon, Chancellor of St. Asaph Diocese (B.C.L.
1534) and *William Salesbury*, both of whom did much for British
archæology and "the vulgar Welsh tong." Salesbury's version
(1567) of the New Testament was reprinted in 1897. A memorial
was erected to him this year (1899) at Llansannan.

distinguished divine, Dr. Thomas Thornton, who generously maintained him. The young man was of a religious temper of mind, and while yet in the pupillary state composed the Grace after Meat which is still used in Hall. Wheare speaks of "benedictiones sive precati-unculæ mensales"; but if, as is likely, Camden was author also of a Grace before Meat, it has been lost. The present one was only introduced in the year 1887. Camden, while at Oxford, entered with ardour into religious controversy on the side of the reformed opinions, and this lost him, it is said, a Fellowship at All Souls. Meanwhile his attachment to Dr. Thornton, now promoted to a canonry at Christ Church, led to his following his benefactor thither. In June, 1570, "having spent four years in the University in Logicals," he supplicated for B.A., and again in March 1573; but, though the degree was granted, he failed to complete it by determination, and left Oxford in 1573 to become usher at Westminster School. In June, 1588, he supplicated Convocation, as already B.A., that,

"whereas from the time he had taken the degree of bachelor he had spent sixteen years in the study of philosophy and the liberal arts, he might read three solemn lectures and so be allowed to proceed."

But he seems not to have done so. A quarter of a century later, when he was at the height of his renown, the University offered him the degree of Master, but he refused the tardy distinction. Camden's book on the churches and chapels of Oxford (1596) is unhappily lost. He died, November 7, 1623, at Chiselhurst, in the house where the death took place, two and a half

centuries after, of the exiled Napoleon III., and was buried with much pomp in the south transept of that Abbey Church where, in his office of Clarendieux King of Arms, he had assisted to lay many other of the great. The year before his death Camden endowed a History Chair at Oxford, and nominated as first "Reader of Histories" *Degory Wheare*, afterwards the successful Principal of Gloucester Hall, who had entered Broadgates July 6, 1593 (Proctor 1645). In his Latin funeral oration over Camden, Wheare, speaking of his own "nourice most dear," says:

"I give thee joy, revered Broadgates, as touching this thy Son above many others; and I give myself also no little joy that when I came new to this Academy it befel me to be suckled at those same breasts of thine at which he was nursed. Oh! might God have granted that it had been in my case with like effect and profit!"

PYM AND HIS COMPANIONS.

Wheare was from Cornwall and entered the Hall on the same day as two other Cornishmen, *Francis Rous*, afterwards Speaker of Barebones Parliament, of whom I must speak among Pembroke Benefactors, and *Charles FitzGeoffrey*, styled by Wood "the poet of Broadgates," and by Meres "that high trowing Falcon," whose *Life and Death of Francis Drake*, the most striking specimen of the class of poems called "histories," was dated from Broadgates Hall, November 17, 1596.* The triumvirate took B.A. together at the beginning of 1597. To Rous Wheare, at his death fifty years afterwards,

* His lines to Joshua Sylvester, in 1605, are signed "Car. Fitz-Geofridus Latiportensis."

bequeathed his books and manuscript collections, and FitzGeoffrey "did celebrate his memory while he was of that house," viz. in *Affaniarum*. I mention this comradeship more especially in order to introduce a far greater name—that of *John Pym*. Pym was son of Sir Richard Carew's daughter Philippa, who, being a widow, became, when her boy was six years of age, the second wife of Sir Anthony Rous, of East Anthony and of Halton, in St. Dominick, Cornwall, Sheriff of Cornwall, Member for East Looe and for Cornwall, the father of Speaker Rous. Sir Anthony had presented FitzGeoffrey to be parson of St. Dominick, and FitzGeoffrey's discourse, *Death's Sermon unto the Living*, at the obsequies in 1620 of Dame Philippa, was dedicated to her son, John Pym. Wheare was Pym's tutor at Broadgates, and dedicated to him *Charisteria*. The great parliamentarian, to whom more than any man the most violent convulsion in English history may be ascribed, was born at Brymore House, near Bridgewater, the ancient seat of the Pym, but brought up, no doubt, at Halton, for which reason Neal calls him "a Cornish gentleman." He entered Broadgates Hall May 18, 1599, aged fifteen (one year before *Thomas Wood*, father of the great and delightful Anthony), and left, it seems, for the Middle Temple (Francis Rous being his surety) without a degree in 1602. Little is known of his career at Oxford, save that he devoted himself to poetry—*Phoebe deliciae, lepos puelli*, writes his fellow-student FitzGeoffrey in 1601. An interesting signature of Pym's is preserved at Pembroke, affixed to a donation of 44s. to the enlargement of the Dining-hall. It is dated "Aprilis 27°, 1623°," and he is

described as "quondam Aulae Lateportensis Commensalis." The immense activities of his fifty-nine years closed in 1643. Pym was buried "with wonderful Pomp and Magnificence" among kings and princes at the entrance of the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Abbey Church,* but his remains at the Restoration were, with those of the regicides, exhumed and reinterred in a pit on the dishonoured and unsunned north side of the building, near the second and third buttresses west of the transept.

WEST COUNTRY FAMILIES.

Other closely connected families from that Cornish and Devonian coastland west of the Dart, such as the *Strodes*, the *Heles*, and the *Summasters*, were well represented at Broadgates. One of the Heles, Sampson, was succeeded in the representation of Tavistock by Pym. The Carews of East Anthony have already been mentioned. Some noted West Country soldiers and sailors who were educated about this time at the Hall were the guardian of Pocahontas' infant son, *Sir Lewis* ("Sir Judas") *Stewkley*, Vice-Admiral of Devon, the betrayer of his cousin Raleigh—

"Heaven hath his soule, the world his fame,
The grave his corps, Stukley his shame——"†

Edward Grenvill, killed at Carthagena, *Sir John Drake*,

* One of the pall-bearers was Colonel Anthony Rous, M.P. for Cornwall, &c., Governor of the Scilly Isles, son of Pym's sister Jane by her marriage to Robert Rous.

† Aubrey's *Lives* (ed. Rev. A. Clark), ii. 190, lines on Sir Walter Rawleigh. James I. said to him: "If I were to hang all that speak ill of thee, all the trees in the country would not suffice." Hunted by popular hatred, he died raving in Lundy Island, 1620.

Clyfforde of Chudleigh, Sir James Blount, standard-bearer to his kinsman, the Lord Mountjoy, in the Irish wars, and *William Farringtoun*, Constable of Lancaster Castle. *John Code*, the scapegrace son of a High Sheriff of Cornwall (matr. 1615), found himself in prison in 1623, together with *William Knight* and another Broadgates divine, *John Herbert*, on account of a University sermon by Knight upholding the right of rebellion. *Clement Walker*, the historian of Independency, M.P. for Wells and "inseparable brother" of Prynne, had his name, Wood thinks, on the Broadgates books. Cromwell, whom he attacked for "devilish hypocrisy," put him in the Tower, where he died in 1651.

Pym was at the Hall at the same time as Francis Beaumont and his brothers, and also with a wit and versifier—"the best poet of all the bishops in England"—of a very unepiscopal type, *Richard Corbet*, styled by Milman a "blameless" and "gentle" prelate. The tales about Corbet, however, are more humorous than edifying. This rollicking Arminian, the boon-comrade of Ben Jonson, is a curious figure in those days of anti-prelatic severity of front. His poem on the Fairford windows is quoted by Richard Jefferies. A typical precisian of the time was *Peter Smart* (entered Broadgates as a batellar, 1588), who, as prebendary of Durham,* denounced from the pulpit the copes, tapers, and crucifixes, the bowings and other ceremonial observances revived by Cosin, of whose impeachment he was

* It is curious that, when deprived, Smart brought an action to retain his prebend on the ground that he had not been duly degraded, in that he had not been "stripped of his priestly garments."

afterwards the principal promoter,* having meanwhile suffered eleven years' imprisonment in the King's Bench. Smart was styled by Francis Rous in his impeachment of Cosin the Puritan proto-martyr. The diversity of human character and conviction force itself on one's mind in recalling the names of several Broadgates men of this time who risked their neck in propagating the enthusiastic revival that went forth from Rheims and Doway, the most famous of whom was that master of the spiritual life, "the most holy and seraphical father" *David* (in religion Augustine) *Baker*, lawyer, historian, and mystic. He published a learned history of the Benedictine Order and a number of ascetical treatises. Baker died of the plague, August 9, 1641, and was buried in St. Andrew's Holborn. He and Smart had been contemporaries at Broadgates. The general tone of the Hall, however, during Summester's long Principalship was probably rather Puritan. *Benserius*, a French professor, had been appointed in 1579 to lecture there, and several sons of Huguenots or Swiss Calvinists were sent there to study, such as *Isaac Colfe*, afterwards Canon of Canterbury; *Wolfgang Musculus*, grandson of the Berne Reformer of that name; *Johann Huldrik Vachnan*; and the Earl of Bedford's protégé, *Johann Rodolph ab Ulmis*, son of *John Ulmer* or ab Ulmis, one of the Helvetic religious leaders, who himself, as

* Cosin described him as "an old man of a most froward, fierce and unpeaceable spirit." Below Hollar's engraving of Smart were the lines of Archbishop Abbot:

"Peter, preach down vain rites with flagrant heart,
Thy guerdon shall be great, though here thou Smart."

member of Christ Church, lodged and studied "at Broad Yates," with his brother *John Conrad*, in Edward VI.'s reign. The latter, writing to Wolfius on March 1, 155 $\frac{1}{2}$, an account of a day's routine at Broadgates, says :

"At four we read privately, in a certain hall wherein we live, the rules of Law, which I hear and learn by rote, as I do the Institutes. After supper the time is spent in various discourse; for either sitting in our chamber, or walking up and down some part of the college, we exercise ourselves in dialectical questions."

He also studied Cicero for style. A little later he writes that he has changed his course of reading :

"I devote the hour from six to seven in the morning to Aristotle's Politics. . . . The seventh hour I employ upon the first book of the Digests or Pandects of the Roman Law, and the eighth in the reconsideration of this lecture. At nine I attend the lecture of that most eminent and learned divine, master doctor Peter Martyr. The tenth hour I devote to the rules of Dialectics of Philip Melancthon *De locis argumentorum*." (*Zurich Letters*, Parker Society.)

Hooper wrote to Bullinger that ab Ulmis was diligent in his studies, but went to and fro between Oxford and London too often.

In the Marian mid-century, as has been already mentioned, *Jewell* took refuge in Broadgates, and there continued to teach his pupils privately, while also lecturing publicly to a large auditory, whom he "attracted as a magnet" to the Hall. During his residence—which seems to have lasted, though perhaps

not continuously, from July 1553 to March 1555—that recantation took place which afterwards he deplored as “abject and cowardly.” He had stayed, says Humphrey,* longer than was right in Oxford, like St. Peter lingering by the fire in the high priest’s courtyard. “Would ye see my hand?” he said with a forced laugh to those who placed before him in St. Mary’s Church the paper he was to sign. “Does it please you to make proof how fairly I can write?” So saying, “with unwilling and hurrying fingers” Jewell subscribed his name. He did not, however, thus secure his safety, for early in 1555 he had to fly from Oxford and escaped to Frankfurt. Another Elizabethan prelate of this date was Bishop *William Blethyn*, of Llandaff (B.C.L. 1562). Bishop *John Phillips* (M.A. from Broadgates, 1584) gave the Manxmen the Bible and Prayer Book in their own tongue.

* *Joannis Juelli Angli Vita*, p. 77.

CHAPTER VI

INCORPORATION OF THE HALL AS A COLLEGE

THOMAS TESDALE.

ON June 13, 1610, there deceased at Ludwell Manor-house, just outside the parish of Glympton in Oxfordshire, a wealthy agriculturist, THOMAS TESDALE or Tisdale, twice Mayor-elect of Abingdon. His grandfather, "Old Thomas," son of John Tesdale, had been brought from the north of England to Hanney, and afterwards to Stanford Deanly, Berks, by an elder brother John, sub-prior, it would seem, of the Abbey of Abingdon, whose dissolution in 1537 he survived only three years. At Hanney "Old Thomas" found a wife, Elizabeth Sharpe, about the year 1500, and had by her three sons and four daughters. Of these, Thomas, born 1507, was thrice, if not four times, married. His first wife, Cecilia Hyde of Culham, perished by the plague in 1545 with five of her six young children; the surviving and eldest child, Elizabeth, I shall have occasion to mention again. His second wife, Joan Knapp of Harcourt, Berks, was the mother of Thomas Tesdale, co-Founder of Pembroke College, and of a daughter. The third choice was Ann Molins, of Mackney, Oxon, who bore

him a son and a daughter. She was the relict of Thomas Bennet, of Clapcot, and ancestress of a number of eminent persons. Tesdale's widow, however, was named Agnes, and I must presume he espoused a fourth wife.

TESDALE'S EARLY YEARS.

The co-Founder Tesdale, then, was born at Stanford Deanly or Dingley in October 1547, and baptized there on the 13th of that month in the old Norman font. The entry of "Thomas Teysdall's" christening is still to be seen. When the child was a few years old, his father, followed it would seem by other members of his family, removed to Abingdon, where he took up his abode at Fytts Harrys, or Fitzharris, farm, close to the confines of the borough. The farm and house, the home of Tesdale's childhood, are now separated. The latter is a gentleman's residence in a small park, and was lately for sale. The elder Tesdale dwelt here in good account and reputation, and was chosen a Governor of Christ's Hospital, Abingdon—re-incorporated (after the dissolution of the Holy Cross Fraternity) by Edward VI.—in 1554. But in December 1556 he died, and was buried in St. Helen's Church. In his will, dated October 31, he bequeathed to his son Thomas, in addition to one hundred pounds to be paid to him on his twenty-first birthday, all his right, title, interest, and term of years in the "personage" (*i.e.* the rectorial tithes) of Allhallows, Wallingford. He was to be, during nonage, in the custody and keeping not of his step-mother, who however was residuary legatee, but of his uncle Richard Tesdale, saddler, of Abingdon, and William Hopkyns

of that town, who were charged to bring him up in learning, and when sufficiently taught and of age to apprentice him in London,* the Wallingford rents being meanwhile employed for his benefit. What early teaching the boy got cannot be told. The step-mother died in 1558. It may have been intended by the guardians to send him to London, but when he was nearing the age of sixteen, *i.e.* in 1563, the founder of the new Free School of the Blessed Trinity,† John Roysse, chose Thomas Tesdale into it as the first admitted scholar. The benefit was afterwards richly repaid. Before he was twenty years old, on June 10, 1567, he was married to a young Abingdon widow, two years his senior—Mawde, daughter of Reynold Stone (a flourishing inhabitant of Henley-on-Thames) and relict of Edward Little, of Oxford and Abingdon. She had been Maid of Honour to the Virgin Queen, and may have brought Tesdale into touch with the Court.

CIVIC DUTIES.

No trade in Abingdon was now more profitable than the trade of a maltster, and the young man, being industrious and prudent, soon became well-to-do in that line of business, and a person of consideration in the town, so that on coming of age he was at once elected a Common Councillor, and two years later Bailiff. In 1577 we find him Governor, in 1579 Master, of the Hospital of the Poor of Christ. In 1580 Tesdale was chosen a Principal

* I have a note that John Tysdale, the Lombard Street printer, began to take 'prentices in 1559.

† Rugby School was founded by Laurence Sheriffe before his death in 1567. "The net result," says Mr. Rashdall, "of the Reformation changes was to produce a great dearth of schools."

Burgess of the borough, though there were some unexplained legal proceedings about his election, and the following year he should have put on the furred robe and chain of the mayoralty, but paid the fine instead. Some years later, in September 1585, he was again elected Mayor for the ensuing twelve months, but pleaded that he no longer possessed either house or furniture in Abingdon, and that his dwelling and mansion house was now nine or ten miles away at Kidlington, where the great pressure of business urgently required his presence. These causes, "with others secretly known," were allowed by his fellow citizens. But on January 12, 1590, it was ordered by the Common Council that, if Thomas Teysdale and Richard Quelch, gents, do not appear before the Mayor by May 1 to show cause for exempting themselves out of the town and not companying with the Mayor for to give their good advices for the government of the borough, they should be disfranchised of their principal burgess-ship. There is probably more in these excuses than meets the eye. At Stratford-on-Avon John Shakespeare, father of the poet, was in 1586 fined and struck off the Council roll for persistent non-attendance, and in 1592 was presented with others "for not coming monethlie to the Church according to her Majesty's command." He had himself as High Bailiff, earlier in Elizabeth's reign, fined a papist for absenting himself from Council meetings, and it is fairly certain that the elder Shakespeare leaned strongly to Puritanism.* From 1577 Whitgift began to enforce conformity on the Genevan party, and incon-

* See *Shakespeare, Puritan and Recusant*, by the Rev. T. Carter. Edinburgh, 1897.

venient oaths had to be taken by municipal officers. Very probably Tesdale's sympathies leaned to the prevailing Puritan theology.* His cousin, Anthony Teisdall, a maltster like himself, is also found excusing himself in 1599 from the "very chargeable" office of Mayor, though he served in 1597. Possibly Thomas Tesdale's withdrawal into Oxfordshire may have been connected in part with his unwillingness to perform his civic duties.

RETIRES TO GLYMPTON.

Francis Little, who in his *Monument of Christian Munificence* (1627) gives the fullest account of the co-

* Abingdon seems to have had conservative leanings in religion. The town was re-chartered by Mary, who granted lands to the citizens. The churchwardens' accompts for the parish of St. Helen's from Philip and Mary onwards into Elizabeth's reign are of unusual interest as evidence of ecclesiastical continuity and the absence of any abrupt break. In the first year of Elizabeth, for instance, there are the following entries relating to the Tesdales :

Received at the burial of Agnes Tesdale for eighteen tapers, s. d.
two torches, and the paule 3 0

More for Agnes Tesdale for two tapers every day and
nyghte by all the monethe 31 6

At the monethes mynde of Thomas Tesdale for twelve
tapers 3 0

Earlier, in 1555, is this entry :

Received of Mrs. Tesdale's daughter for 6 tapers and two
tapers for quater Dirges o 8

The founder of St. John's College, Sir Thomas White, was at an earlier date (1545) committed to Newgate and his shop closed by order of the City Fathers for refusing to serve as alderman. But Mr. Hutton thinks that he was afraid of the forced loans to the Crown of that year.

Founder, does not mention his residing at Kidlington, but remarks that "liking better of a country life" he "left Abingdon and dwelt the most part of his time at Glympton"—which is a few miles north of Kidlington. Ludwell Manor, now an ancient-looking farmhouse, where is an interesting old chimney-piece, is really in Wootton Parish, but much nearer to Glympton Church, in which Thomas and Maud Tesdale are buried. On the monument he is described as "of this Parish of Glympton." Here and in many other places "in divers shires and countries" he established a flourishing trade in the production of woad, for dyeing purposes, being reputed the largest dealer in woad in the whole kingdom. He was also, like John Shakespeare, an extensive grazier, corn-grower, and dealer in wool, and in this way—not principally, let us hope, as contractor for clothing the Queen's army, which office Fuller says he filled*—he attained a great estate. The middle class had its golden age in the period of Elizabeth—grave, substantial men who "heard sermons" and grew rich and married their daughters to the new nobility. Tesdale was

"always a lover of God's word and a great favourer of the preachers and professors thereof, and still prospered accordingly. He was a bountiful Housekeeper and gave much alms and relief to the poor, to whom his purse was ever open and his hand never shut."

* Probably Tesdale while at Abingdon was a clothier as well as maltster. "The town stonndith by clothing," says Leland. But this and other trades suffered much by the dissolution of the monasteries. Sir Thomas White, founder of St. John's, was also a clothier.



From a photograph by the

TESDALE'S HOME

[Oxford Camera Club

THE NEW
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATION

The death of three fair children had left him without an heir ; wherefore,

“he gave in his lifetime many liberal portions to the marriage of divers of his kindred, and to some of them stocks of money to trade withal, that while he yet lived he might be an eye-witness of their honest endeavours.”

To a Sunday lecturer in Glympton Church, “whom he always desired to be of special note and of the best account in the University,” he gave twenty pounds annually, in order “to testify and declare unto the world his thankfulness to God, who so abundantly blessed his labours.”

LEGACY OF FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS.

But like so many other bountiful merchants of that time Tesdale desired also to do something great and striking for the promotion of religious and secular learning, and his thoughts turned naturally to the neighbouring University, where he wished perhaps that he himself had been nursed in humane letters. In the year of Tesdale’s death the first stone of Wadham College was laid. He had at one time—at what period of his life is uncertain—frequented the Court, and there perhaps had been admitted to the intimacy of *Dr. George Abbot*, Bishop of London, afterwards Lord Primate. Dr. Clayton tells us that it was Abbot who suggested to Tesdale the munificent scheme which became planted in his mind. Finding death approaching, as he drew near the “grand climacterick” of his sixty-third year, Tesdale made his last testament. First he gave to Maud his wife two thousand pounds to

divide and bestow among her own kindred. Also he gave "many large and liberal legacies to all those that were of his name and consanguinity," portions to his servants and remembrances to his friends and old acquaintances. To a number of towns and villages he gave for the relief of their poor ten pounds apiece, to the poor of his birthplace thirty pounds, and the same sum to those of Abingdon. Roysse had provided for his Grammar School at Abingdon the endowment of a Master only. Tesdale now bequeathed glebe lands and tithes, worth sixteen pounds by the year, for the perpetual maintenance of an Usher in his old school, the Governors of Christ's Hospital to administer the trust, as they do also Roysse's Foundation. School and bedehouse were constantly associated in these ancient foundations. Finally, whereas God had blessed him in his worldly estate with increase of substance, the testator,

"being minded and resolved to dedicate some good part thereof, together also with some of my kindred, in more especial manner to His glory and service of the Church,"

bequeathed to the reverend Father in God, George Abbot, D.D., Bishop of London, Sir John Bennet, knight, and Henry Atry, D.D., five thousand pounds of lawful English money in trust to disburse the same for the purchase of real estate in fee simple of the yearly value of two hundred and fifty pounds at the least, "as they may easily gett," this revenue to be employed for the maintenance and sustentation of *thirteen Scholars in Balliol College* in the University of Oxford, "if there they may be conveniently placed and

entertained according to the purpose of this my will"; and if not, in *University College*, under like conditions; or failing these, then "in some such other Colledge within the University as my said devisees and trusty friends shall think and finde fitt for that purpose." Abbot had been Fellow of Balliol and Master of University. When Balliol and University were in the end passed over, the statutes of Pembroke College nevertheless provided that in the choice of a Master, if a suitable Fellow or former Fellow could not be found and the electors were obliged to go outside for a Governor, they were first to seek one in Balliol and next in University College, because of the great affection of Thomas Tesdale and Archbishop Abbot, his first trustee, towards those Colleges.

TO BENEFIT ABINGDON.

The foundation was to be closely connected with Abingdon School, and divided into two parts, six of the thirteen Scholars to be incorporated into the receiving College with the status of Scholars and seven on the footing of Fellows. Of the former, to be called "*poore Schollers or Abingdonians*," two were to be always of the founder's poorer kindred, having been brought up and instructed in Abingdon School, if such there can be found, but if not then out of any other school in England. These were to receive a yearly maintenance of fifteen pounds apiece. The other four were to be chosen from needy natives of Abingdon brought up in Royse's School, preference being given to the "*Poor Scholars*" of William Bennet, Tesdale's kinsman, if apt

and meet.* These were to receive twelve pounds a year. The seven Fellows, receiving five-and-twenty pounds each, were to be recruited, as vacancies arose, from among the Scholars, so that four of the seven should always be of the founder's kindred.

TESDALE'S FELLOWS AND SCHOLARS.

The thirteen Tesdale Scholars were to be "tyed to perfourme such exercises of learning, and be subject to such censures and punishments, as well for default and neglect therein as for not comming to prayers, and for

* "It came to pass that when they should elect the children of the [Canterbury] Grammar school there were of the commissioners mo than one or two which would have no admitted but younger brethren and gentlemen's sons. As for other husbandmen's children, they were more meet, they said, for the plough and to be artificers than to occupy the place of the learned sort; so that they wished none else to be put to school but only gentlemen's children.

"Whereunto that most reverend father, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, being of a contrary mind, said that he thought it not indifferent so to order the matter. For (said he) poor men's children are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature, which are also the gifts of God, as with eloquence, memory, apt pronounciation, sobriety, with such like, and also more given to apply their study, than is the gentleman's son delicately educated. . . . Utterly to exclude the ploughman's son and the poor man's son from the benefit of learning, as though they were unworthy to have the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them as well as upon others, is as much as to say that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of grace upon any person, nor nowhere else but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed. . . . I myself have seen no small number of [the best born children] very dull and without all manner of capacity. And, to say the truth, I take it that none of us all here, being gentlemen born (as I think), but had our beginning that way from a low and base parentage. . . . Wherefore if the gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the poor man's child apt enter his room."

all and every other defaulte and misdemeanors as other fellowes, and Schollers." They were to proceed Masters of Arts as soon as possible, and enter the sacred ministry within three years of M.A. The statutes finally made in 1624 compelled them to study theology.

The provisions as to ordination, and as regards founder's kin carry out Tesdale's expressed intention to "dedicate" some good part of his substance "together also with some of my kindred" in more especial manner to God's glory and the service of the Church. Such a dedication of youthful relatives may be somewhat strange to our present ideas, and founders in providing for the education of their kith and kin can hardly have looked many generations ahead. In truth they considered that any fairly intelligent lad, if taken early enough, could be trained to books and a cassock, and if so, their own blood as well as another. A point which Tesdale and others did not foresee was the modern preference of the burghers of a small market-town for a commercial rather than a literary education for their sons. Had Royse's Grammar School continued to educate none but native Abingdonians, it could not have sent a constant succession of good scholars to Pembroke.

ROYSE'S SCHOOL.

The School now gathers boys from all quarters. At an earlier date it became the parent of many distinguished *alumni* through the abuse which enabled the Archididascalus to receive into his house a number of private pupils, often youths of ability and good posi-

tion, who were in many cases attracted by the Pembroke scholarships. The sixty-three children provided for by John Royse to record the foundation of the School in the sixty-third year of his own life and of the century—it will be remembered that Tesdale died at that age—seem to have disappeared by Dr. Lemprière's time (1799–1809). The six Poor Scholars of Master William Bennet, nephew and ward of Tesdale (whom he made trustee of his foundation) have continued down to the present time, though they no longer wear their pretty livery gowns.* But the Royal Commission of 1819 discovered that, in spite of Tesdale's will, they seldom, if ever, offered themselves for election at the College. Abingdon School has quitted, not without regret, its narrow decaying home under the wing of the ruin of the great Abbey to which the town owes its fame, and has been established since 1870 in new quarters just outside the borough. Under its present management its numbers have recently doubled, and an extension of the building is contemplated. But the school bell still every day tolls three-and-sixty times, much as Great Tom sounds his daily hundred-and-one strokes. Most of the ordinances of the Founder have now been disused—those which required that thrice a day the children should fall on their knees and beseech the Blessed Trinity to have mercy on his soul, and prescribed for their devotions the *Paternoster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo* and *De profundis*, are of unusual interest in an Eliza-

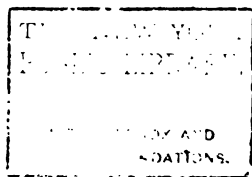
* They pay half fees. There are also five Scholarships for natives of Abingdon, giving free education, which bear Royse's name, about forty boarders, and a number of day boys who pay a tuition fee of £13 in Upper School and £6 in Lower.



Old St. Thomas Church

Old St. Thomas Church

Old St. Thomas Church



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bethan foundation. But every Founder's Day Royse's tomb in St. Helen's is reverently garlanded with red roses. It is curious to find in the town archives an entry of September 6, 1671, recording the expulsion from the school by order of the Common Council of three Tesdales—Richard, Jasper, and a third, together with other of the Scholars, for persistently refusing the attendance required by the Founder's statutes at divine service.

MAUD TESDALE.

Having set his worldly estate in order, Tesdale "not long after fell grievously sick, and feeling death approaching, he drew his comfort out of holy meditations, and in the end gave place unto nature." There was doubtless a large concourse at his funeral in Glympton Church, for his bounties had been cast far and wide, and, moreover, every man, woman and child of the poorer class who was present received under his will sixpence apiece.* Maud Tesdale, his executrix and residuary legatee, "in testimony of her true faythful love towards him," caused to be placed over her husband's grave a black marble slab with a brass let into it representing Tesdale standing on what seems to be an ale cask, in allusion to his earlier trade of maltster. But on her deathbed six years later, as a lasting proof of "her never-dying faith and loyalty to her most religious and worthy Husband (so far as mortality could provide to stretch the same)," she gave injunction

* Such *post-mortem* doles were meant once for the purchase of the graveside prayers of the poor. See St. Luke xvi. 9, R.V.

for the erection over against his grave and hers, of one of those Jacobean sepulchral monuments in which, carved in alabaster, under an elaborately painted and gilded canopy, and watched over by cherubs, we see grave husbands and buxom wives kneeling for ever face to face on large red cushions, with Latin verses cut below. She gave this charge "to propagate his memory rather than her own"; but the inscription, telling us that "the said Maud left this vale of misery and finished her days of mortality in y^e true Faith and fear of y^e Lord Jesus wth singular patience, peace of Conscience, and contentment, y^e 19 day of June An Sal.: 1616," goes on to speak of her virtues:

"Whose true and sincere love unto Religion, whose Charitable devotion towards y^e Poor, whose respective Care and kindness to sundry bordering Towns, S^t Mary's Church in y^e Famous University of Oxon, Henly upon Thames where she was born and hath shew'd her bounty Most liberally, ABINGDON where she sometimes liv'd and hath left a Perpetual remembrance of her love, GLYMPTON Charlbury and Ascott in all w^{ch} places she hath lovingly anointed Christ JESUS in his poor members, shall forever testify and declare."

Her charitab.e bequests to the places mentioned were of the usual quaint kind that found favour in that age, but the nature of the bequest to St. Mary's, Oxford, should be recorded, as it has escaped the attention of Mr. T. Graham Jackson in his handsome architectural history of the University Church. The bequest was of

"two hundred pounds to be bestowed in S^t Marie's church in Oxford, for the building of strong and sufficient

galleries in the same church, whereby all people might stand the more conveniently to hear the word of God, to his Glory and their own comfort, but especially at the time of the solemnity of the Act, at which time multitudes of strangers do usually resort."

These doubtless excellent galleries were, I suppose, what Dr. Ingram in his *Memorials* styles the "barbarous wood-work which disfigured the elegant building,"* removed in 1827 to make way for what has been there since. At Henley, Maud Tesdale founded a charity school.

In the little panelled hall of Christ's Hospital at Abingdon—built in 1446 for thirteen poor men and women by the Fraternity of the Holy Cross, Sir Thomas Golafre and Sir Thomas Chaucer, the poet's son, acting as trustees—is a picture of Thomas Tesdale, presented in 1763 by that learned and patriotic Tesdale Usher of Roysse's School, the Reverend John Stevenson. It is thought that the portrait which hangs in Pembroke College Hall is an early copy of this; the one in the Bodleian is a poor daub. By Tesdale's side hangs the presentment, in widow's weeds and holding a book of prayers, of "Mawd Teasdale," painted in 1612. Pepys in his Diary, under June 10, 1668, having lain at Abingdon the night before, writes :

"Up and walked to the hospitall, very large and fine, and pictures of founders and the History of the hospitall; and is said to be worth 700*l. per annum*. . . . So did give to the poor, which they would not take but in their box, 2*s*."

Laud, before his consecration, preached a sermon commemorating the Hospital's benefactors.

* *Memorials of Oxford*: St. Mary the Virgin, p. 12.

BALLIOL COLLEGE DISAPPOINTED.

On Tesdale's brass in Glympton Church, placed there in 1610, he is said to have been "lyberally beneficial to Balliol Colledge." Howes' *Continuation of Stowe* (1613) states that Tesdale "gave 5000*l.* to maintain seven fellows and six scholars, to be placed in Bailyoll Colledge." It is certain that the trustees, who were men of special eminence, endeavoured to carry out the testator's intentions on this head, especially Abbot, himself, as we have seen, a member of Balliol, of which College also his brother Robert was Master. But according to Little, who as an Abingdonian wished doubtless to put the best colour on the action of the citizens, the Master and Fellows of Balliol refused to accept the five thousand pounds upon the conditions prescribed in Tesdale's will. The conditions must have been indeed unpalatable to cause a poor College to refuse so splendid a foundation, equal perhaps to fifty thousand pounds of our money. The stipulations as to founder's kin and local connexion, though unknown at Balliol till Elizabeth's reign, were in accordance with the spirit of the time; in 1605 Sir William Dunch had endowed an Abingdon scholar there, and at that very time a Fellowship and a Scholarship were being founded in the College under Peter Blundell's will in connection with his school at Tiverton. In the *Brief Memorial of Abingdon School* written in 1863 by one of Blundell's descendants it is indeed stated:

"As by this time the pressing necessities of Baliol had just been relieved by advances made to its master and scholars by the trustees of Blundell's Grammar School at

Tiverton, on conditions somewhat similar to those proposed by Teasdale, they declined an overture which if accepted would have practically divided their Fellowships between Abingdon and Tiverton."

But Balliol had its old endowments, and the Blundell Foundation was but small compared with Tesdale's. After the Restoration the benefactions accepted from Bishop Warner and John Snell gave that College a close local connexion with Scotland. The obligation to take Holy Orders was nothing new, for under the Balliol Statutes every Fellow was bound to enter the priesthood within four years of his Master's degree. However, the Balliol Society was undoubtedly a very close corporation, for Fellow nominated Scholar, and out of the Scholars the Fellows were usually elected.* It is not impossible that the proposed accession of thirteen Fellows and Scholars from outside may have raised doubts and some desire to vary the strict terms of Tesdale's will, whereby occasion was given to the Corporation of Abingdon to follow their own more ambitious designs. But we are assured by Wood and by Savage that "several articles of agreement were made between the Mayor, Bailiffs and Burghers of Abendon and the Master and Scholars." By these it was arranged that the rents should remain in the Chamber of the town of Abingdon until a sufficient sum should have accrued for the erection of buildings uniform to Balliol College, which would provide the ground for the same, and meanwhile provide a convenient lodging for the seven Fellows and six Scholars,

* See Mr. R. L. Poole's account of Balliol College in Clark's *Colleges of Oxford*.

the College to receive an advance of three hundred pounds out of Tesdale's money for the purpose. The will, however, had provided that, if it should be found necessary to build chambers in Balliol for the new Fellows and Scholars, the placing of the former was to be forborne until out of the accumulation of their yearly allowances such rooms and chambers might be there built, and that meanwhile only the six Poor Scholars were to be chosen and placed, five of these eventually becoming Fellows.

CÆSAR'S BUILDINGS.

Accordingly there was found at Balliol, we read in *Balliofergus*, a "present receptacle" for the six Scholars only, "which were there received and settled accordingly, receiving their exhibitions by the hand of our Bursars, Dring, Lee, Crabtre, Allen, Bowles and Read." On the other hand, I cannot find that any of these matriculated till 1621, eleven years after Tesdale's death. The place provided for them was the building known as Cæsar's Lodgings, nearly opposite St. Mary Magdalen Church, which the College acquired by means of the £300 and £40 besides. This building, part of which is shown in Loggan's print of Balliol College, had its name either from Dean Henry Cæsar or from his more famous brother the bountiful Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls from 1614 to 1636, whose picture by Van Somer is in the National Portrait Gallery.* In 1773, at the installation of Lord North, the approaching demolition of "Cæsar," "cum Pompeio unâ" (i.e., together

* This Gallery, costing not less than £100,000, was presented to the Nation by a Pembroke man, Mr. *William Henry Alexander*.

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with a corresponding stack of chambers popularly called "Pompey"), was indicated in a Latin poem. But the dilapidated building stood till about 1845. Here, then, Tesdale's Scholars were lodged.

A HOMICIDE.

A tragical event put an end to the career of one of them, *John Crabtree*, who had taken B.A. from Balliol October 16, 1623. An altercation arose between the newly-fledged Bachelor and a Balliol freshman of three weeks' standing, Ferryman Moore by name, whom Crabtree taunted with "being only an under graduate, pulling his haire." The freshman seized a knife and stabbed the senior, who died of the wound. Moore was tried and, pleading his "books" or clergy, was condemned to be burnt in the hand. Great sympathy was felt for him, and the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. John Prideaux), the Mayor, and other Commissioners of Peace and for Gaol Delivery petitioned that, by reason of the provocation received, he might receive the pardon of the Crown. This was granted November 19, 1624.*

RICHARD WIGHTWICKE'S BENEFACTION.

Pembroke College was publicly inaugurated in the preceding June of that year. The events which led to Balliol losing the Tesdale money and to the foundation of Pembroke with it and with another large benefaction must, therefore, have been somewhat rapid. The proverb about the slip betwixt the cup and the lip was signally exemplified. It has been pointed out to me in the *Oxford Magazine* of October 27, 1897, that

* Kalendar of State Papers.

"among the struggles which Balliol College made to retain Tesdale's legacy, perhaps the most extraordinary was their electing to the Mastership in 1617 [161 $\frac{1}{2}$] an undistinguished country clergyman, John Parkhurst of Magdalen, because he had married Sarah, daughter of Anthony Tesdale of Abingdon, who was first cousin of Thomas."

I would suggest that this election was rather out of gratitude to the name of Tesdale than to propitiate the family, who probably had no influence in the disposal of their kinsman's money, and that it is additional evidence that Balliol in 1616 considered the foundation in their College as an accomplished fact. But the Master and Fellows acted rashly in spending money before the negotiations with Abingdon were ratified by the approval of Abbot, now Archbishop of Canterbury. His subsequent generosity in defraying the outlay on Cæsar's Buildings out of his own purse may indicate that he felt personally responsible for the diversion of the £5000 from Balliol. Using a term of Roman law, one of the orations at the opening of Pembroke College styled him Tesdale's "heir fiduciary." Yet there was everything to make him favour his own College and promote his own original suggestion.

AN AMBITIOUS PLAN.

When, then, a former member of the same College, RICHARD WIGHTWICKE, B.D., Rector of East Ilsley, offered to add *three Fellows and four Scholars* to the Tesdale foundation, how came the Archbishop at the last moment to wreck the natural expectations and upset the already allowed arrangements of Balliol College?

"It fell then under consideration," writes Fuller, "that it was a pity so great a bounty, substantial enough to stand of itself, should be adjoined to a former foundation, whereupon a new College (formerly called *Broadgates Hall in Oxford*) was erected therewith by the name of *Pembroke College*."

Wightwicke does not appear to have stipulated that his old College should be disappointed. The citizens of Abingdon, when everything was settled and Broadgates Hall had been pitched upon as the institution to be incorporated, petitioned the King through the Earl of Pembroke, who as Chancellor was Visitor of Broadgates, that it might be done. But this more aspiring scheme was not improbably suggested' to them from above. Dr. Clayton, the Principal of Broadgates, himself a son of Balliol, earnestly declared at the opening of the new College that he had in no way sought the honour which had come to him, though doubtless the Lateportenses were not displeased at being erected into a society. The Earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the University, was too great a noble—"whose noblesse kept one stature still" (Jonson)—to think the addition of his name to a College an object to be intrigued for; nor did he do anything substantial for the new institution. I incline to believe that the formal title assigned to Pembroke College, "of the foundation of King James," represents the reality, and that it was the King himself* who, with his eager interest in academic affairs,

* Pattison (*Life of Casaubon*, p. 299) observes that his was the "only court where the profession of learned men was in any degree appreciated." James, before his accession to the English throne assured Casaubon that, "besides the care of the Church, it was his

his anxiety to promote the endowment of learning, and his desire to be held in after ages as a Founder, vetoed the Balliol plan, and insisted on the creation of an independent College.

A CHANCERY SUIT.

This view of royal intervention is borne out by subsequent events. It appears that one of the earliest acts of the Master and Society of Pembroke was to sue in Chancery for the recovery of the three hundred pounds advanced to Balliol, and the suit came before Lord Keeper Coventry.* Coventry was himself a Balliol Gentleman - Commoner, and had promised, Savage tells us, to the Master and Fellows of that College a gracious hearing. According to Clarendon, he was the last man to act unjustly or to buoy up the hopes of suitors with false expectations.† Yet in the fixed resolve to encourage letters and learned men, as he considered them the strength and ornament of kingdoms." Jonson (on whom the King bestowed an annuity of a hundred marks, which Charles I. made pounds) says flatteringly that James was pleased

"Of his special grace to letters
To make all the Muses debtors
To his bounty."

The bounty was somewhat platonic. Still it was under royal encouragement that considerable gifts from so many quarters enriched University institutions in this reign. To two later Stuart sovereigns Pembroke College is substantially indebted.

* Not, however, before November 1625, when Coventry was given the Great Seal. James I. was then dead, but his Son would probably try to execute his wishes.

† "Though he used very frankly to Deny, and would never suffer any Man to depart from him with an opinion that he was inclined to Gratify, when in truth he was not; holding that Dissimulation to be the worst of Lying: yet the Manner of it was so gentle and obliging, and his Condescension such, to Inform the persons whom

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event he proved "not faithful" to his old College. Doubtless he

"In courteous words returned reply,
But dallied with his golden chain,
And smiling put the question by."

ACTION OF ARCHBISHOP ABBOT.

Balliol then in despair submitted the question of their indebtedness to the Archbishop himself, "who, knowing well that the Society was not able at that time to repay the said sum, bade the Fellows go home, be obedient to their Governour"—this probably indicates that Parkhurst also had been won by influences in high quarters to the Broadgates plan—"and JEHOVAH JIREH, *i.e.*, God shall provide for them." What happened was, as I have said, that the Primate—at that time, owing to his Puritan leanings and his misfortune with the cross-bow, in the cold shadow, and anxious to regain favour at Court—paid the £300, a substantial sum, himself. He awarded Cæsar's Buildings, with the garden attached, to the Master of Balliol in lieu of ten pounds a year assigned to him for the increase of his maintenance in Tesdale's will, together with £26 which had been assigned to the College that the members thereof might "no way receive losse hindrance or detriment by this admission to their body," the £36 to be raised by mulcting he could not satisfy, that few departed from him with ill will, and ill wishes" (*History of the Rebellion*, i. 47). Clarendon says that, "that great Office being so slippery," no Lord Keeper had died in it before Coventry for forty years, but that he enjoyed it for sixteen years "with an universal reputation (and sure Justice was never better administered)." Sir Anthony Weldon blackens his character.

each of the seven Tesdale Fellows of £25 a year. No compensation could be given to the Fellows.

“BALLIOFERGUS.”

It is not to be wondered at that a later Master, Henry Savage, forty years after these events, complains bitterly of the injustice inflicted on his College by “the Thievish glance of Mercuries Eye.” His *Balliofergus* (written in 1661, but published some years later) contains an interesting account of the proceedings at the opening of Pembroke, called *Natalitia Collegii Pembrochiani*. The condescensions of Balliol College, he says, were disregarded by the citizens of Abingdon, though they “could not have been greater without manifest injury to the ancient foundation.” The phrase suggests that the Balliol Society did make some stipulations, which furnished the required excuse for alienating from their College a most princely bounty.

“The place the Abingdonians pitch’d on,” writes Savage sarcastically, “was Broadgates Hall, where that they might take such footing as that nothing might be able to remove them they made the Earl of Pembroke the Godfather of this new christened Hall, King James the Founder of it, but (‘ad onera et costagia’) at the cost and charges of Tisdale and Whitwick, allowing these only the priviledge of Foster Fathers.”

WILLIAM HERBERT, EARL OF PEMBROKE.

No magnate of that time could be more fitly chosen to be the eponymous patron and protector of an infant college than the powerful and cultivated *William*

Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, son of that Countess who was "subject of all verse," godson of Queen Elizabeth, Chancellor from 1617 of the University of Oxford, "the very picture," as Wood describes him, "and Viva Effigies of nobility," "a singular lover of learning and of the professors thereof," "the most universally loved and esteemed," says Lord Clarendon, "of any man of that age"—yet not untainted by the vices of his age, though Jonson dedicated his poems to him as "the great example of honour and vertue." It is said of the "incomparable Pair of Brethren" in the preface prefixed to the folio Shakespeare that "no men came near their Lordships," *i.e.*, for literary patronage, "but with a kind of religious address." Whether the elder Pembroke was or was not the "onlie begetter" of Sonnets i.-cxxxvi., and the person whom William Shakespeare addresses as "Lord of my love," is a famous subject of literary controversy, and has been lately debated with acute arguments on both sides.*

Few of the rising writers of that great time but owed to him advancement and liberal help, and "his conversation was most with men of the most pregnant parts and understanding."

"Being munificent and childless," says Fuller, "the University of Oxford hoped to be his executor and Pembroke Colledge his heir—Pembroke Colledge, I say, called

* See an article in the *Fortnightly Review* of December 1897 by Mr. W. Archer upholding the Pembroke view, and an answer to it by Mr. Sidney Lee in the number of February 1898. Since then a contemporary portrait of the Earl, dated 1603, has been discovered with lines from the Sonnets on the back, in what purports to be a seventeenth-century hand. Mr. George Wyndham (*Poems of Shakespeare*) now sums up in favour of the Pembroke theory.

so not only in respect to, but also in expectation from him, then chancellor of the university; and probably had not our noble lord died suddenly soon after (according as a fortune teller had informed him, whom he laughed at that very night he departed, being his birth night), this college might have received more than a bare name from him."

He died intestate, April 8, 1630, and a "great piece of plate" was his only gift to Pembroke College; but to the University, at Archbishop Laud's instigation, he had presented the famous Baroccio Library of Greek manuscripts, "the most valuable collection that ever came into England." In the Bodleian Gallery is this Earl's full-length portrait by Van Dyck and his effigy in brass, designed by Rubens and executed by Lesœur. Over the south gateway of the Schools his escutcheon is carved. He was not, however, formally enrolled among the University Benefactors till 1898. To what extent Pembroke College owes to him its existence or its firm establishment must remain uncertain.

CONSTITUTED VISITOR.

As Chancellor the Earl of Pembroke was Visitor of Broadgates Hall, and his concurrence and direct assistance had to be obtained for the conversion of it into a College. The College Statutes speak of "many favours" received from him, commend the young institution to his "protecting care," and, that the College may always find "anchoram in arduis," constitute this most honoured Lord and the High Chancellors his successors as Visitors thereof. In 1657 the Presbyterians, in a bill which aimed at fixing the office of Visitor of the several

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Colleges permanently in some eminent non-resident, proposed that the Earls of Pembroke should be perpetual Visitors not only of Jesus College but also of Pembroke. It should be mentioned that in his last testament Tesdale provided that, if any question, doubt, debate or controversy should arise concerning the operation of his will, the Vice-Chancellor, the Provost of Queen's, and the President of Corpus Christi for the time being, should arbitrate, adjudge, and decide the same. But, if some matter of great moment and difficulty should arise whereof they should not be able to agree and determine, his will and desire was that it should be referred to the decision of the Bishop of London for the time being. This provision seems to have been, except in the matter of the deposition of a Master, ignored.

SIR JOHN BENNET.

The complaisance of the Archbishop being secured, no opposition to the creation of the new College was likely to proceed from the other two trustees of Tesdale's will. One of them, *Dr. Henry Ayray*, the Puritanical Provost of Queen's, had died October 10, 1616; the other was in disgrace. *Sir John Bennet*, brother of William Bennet, the founder of the Six Poor Scholars at Abingdon School, son of Tesdale's half-sister Elizabeth, and grandfather of Lord Arlington and Lord Ossulston, was a distinguished civilian. As member for York and for Ripon he took an active part in parliamentary affairs, and was employed by the Court in 1617 on a delicate mission to Flanders. At the time of Tesdale's death Sir John had become Dean of the Arches, and in this and other judicial posts he was

important enough to be guilty of "exorbitant" corruptions. On March 15, 1624, a committee promoted by Pym to inquire into abuses in the Courts of Justice reported charges of receiving bribes against the Lord Chancellor, the great Francis Bacon, and with him was placed Sir John Bennet. The latter, being impeached, was sentenced to pay twenty thousand pounds (half the fine inflicted on the Chancellor) and to be committed to prison. He was, however, before long pardoned, and Bacon petitioned King James that he, too, might receive the royal clemency, seeing that between Bennet's guilt and his own there was as much difference, he would not say as between black and white but, as between black and grey or ash-coloured. Bennet had been trusted, however, in private affairs not only by Tesdale but by Sir Thomas Bodley, who also made him his executor. The University looked on him with regard and gratitude, for it was in the joint conference of Bennet and Bodley that the project for building the noble quadrangle of the Schools had its birth, and Bodley, in 1611, strongly urged the University to make suit to "the prone affection" of this "true affected sonne to his auncient Mother," who was rich and had "great store of frendes of eminent calling," from whom his known integrity would easily obtain handsome contributions. Bennet, in a Latin letter to the University, promised his best endeavours. He was a principal figure at the laying of the first stone, March 29, 1613, and "offered liberally thereon." Next year Sir John was chosen as burgess for the University, but after his disgrace was removed from sitting in Parliament. In 1624, however, he was made by the Crown one of the Commissioners for

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drawing up Statutes for Pembroke College. He died in poverty and obscurity, February 15, 1624, and was buried among the Grey Friars in Newgate Street.

CONNEXION WITH WALLINGFORD.

The Tesdale money, "deposited in so careful hands," says Fuller, "was advantageously expended." The Tesdales and Bennets had been connected with Wallingford Allhallows parish, in whose now demolished church used to be the monument of Thomas Bennet, of Clapcot, grandfather of Sir John.* Of Wallingford Allhallows, Tesdale's trustees, in 1616, purchased the tithes outright; these amounted to £284 10s. Tesdale, we have seen, held a long lease of them—the glebe, the site of the glebe-house, and the freehold of the churchyard, as well as the tithes of St. Mary-the-More in that town. From 1630 the College leased certain Clapcot tithes (£45 10s.) in Wallingford. On May 3, 1616, they bought of Thomas Baskerville, for £3800, Can or Calne Court, in the parish of Lydiard Tregooze, Wilts. A sum of eight hundred pounds remained unexpended. The Wallingford tithes are described in the old College books as the "Beckhallowin tithes," *i.e.*, Bec Herlouin, the Abbey of Bec in Normandy having received them from Miles Crispin not long after the

* It may be here explained that not only did Richard Bennet, Sir John's father, marry Elizabeth Tesdale, the co-Founder's half sister, but this Thomas Bennet, father to Richard, was husband to Ann Molins, the co-Founder's stepmother. One of Richard Bennet's brothers by that union, Sir Thomas Bennet, Lord Mayor of London, is among the direct ancestors of the present Most Honourable Visitor of Pembroke College.

Norman Conquest. A generation or two ago Pembroke College, desiring some information about this property, entered into a Latin correspondence on the subject with the Abbot and monks of Bec, who transmitted an extract relating thereto from their chancellery.

CHAPTER VII

COMPLETION OF THE FOUNDATION

RICHARD WIGHTWICKE.

WE must now turn to RICHARD WIGHTWICKE and his benefaction, which was the efficient cause of the foundation of Pembroke College. He came of an ancient Staffordshire family, which took its name from a manor or hamlet in the parish of Tettenhall, called in Domesday Wistewic, now Whittick.* The family mansion stands on the Bridgenorth Road. This place belonged to the Wightwicks from the time of King John till 1827, when it was sold, together with Tunstall, a fine moated house near Wolverhampton, and four other Staffordshire properties. In Sir Simon Degge's MS. appendix to *Erdewicke's History of Staffordshire* (c. 1595) this family is described as having owned estates in the county since the Conquest. The earliest member I have traced is a Richard de Widewic, whose son, Osbert FitzRichard, paid, in 1185, 2s. for a *pourprestre* in the neighbouring forest. In 1177 Alured de

* It has been pointed out to me by the Rev. F. W. Weaver, Vicar of Milton, near Evercreech, that the statement in my larger *History of Pembroke College*, that the family derived its name from the town of Whitwick, near Ashby-de-la-Zouch, is almost certainly a mistake. I was betrayed into it through lack of local knowledge.

Wiggewick had been amerced two merks for forest trespass. A descendant of this house, in the time of the Wars of the Roses, Henry de Wightwike, had two sons, the elder of whom, John, was father of Hugh, Prior at the Dissolution of the Austin canons of Huntingdon, and of Humphrey, who intermarried with a Grosvenor, and from whom descended Francis Wightwick and Stubbs husband to Dorothea Wightwick, both benefactors of the College, Jorden and Adams, Johnson's tutors, and Samuel and Hancox Wightwick, whose portraits are in the possession of the College; the younger, Thomas, settling at Lilleshall, Salop, some twelve miles from Tettenhall,* and deceasing in 1565, left by his wife, Elizabeth Moseley,† four children, Richard, Thomas, William, and Jane. His will mentions his son Richard, who was also executor of his mother's testament, made in 1580. Richard Wightwicke was born "in the tail end of old Harry" or the beginning of Edward VI.'s reign, at Donnington, a township of Lilleshall parish.‡ He was sent to Balliol, but the date of his taking B.A. is July 2, 1580, when he must have been about thirty-two years of age; M.A. July 4, 1583. Ten years later he proceeded B.D., viz., May 31, 1593.

It appears from the Institution books of the Oxford

* The family were friends here with the Sheldons, of which stock was Archbishop Sheldon.

† Probably of Moseley Old Hall, near Tettenhall. Earnald de Moseley was lord of Moseley, *temp.* King John. The present representative of the family is Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., of Rolleston Hall, Staffordshire.

‡ The Rev. Bruce Blaxland, Vicar of Lilleshall, informs me that his registers do not go back so far. The ancient font remains.

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diocese that on July 25, 1580 (a few weeks after taking his Bachelor's degree), Richard Whitwicke became Rector of St. Martin's (Carfax) in Oxford, then a Crown living, but previously in the gift of Abingdon Abbey. This preferment, which is not mentioned by Little, by Fuller, or by Anthony Wood,* was held by Wightwicke till 1591; his signature is appended to the Churchwardens' accounts of 1589. We next find him chaplain to the Lord Henry Norreys of Rycote, Oxon, the "mild and meek" son of the Sir Henry Norreys who was beheaded in 1536 "in the cause of Queen *Anne Bullen*," whose paramour he was alleged to be. Wightwicke was presented by this nobleman to the perpetual curacy of Hampstead Norreys, Berks, and in 1595 to the rectory of Albury, Oxon, a small place not far from Rycote.† Here he remained till 1607. At that date his patron had been dead six years, and it is not clear who presented Richard Wightwicke to a much larger cure and benefice, the parsonage of East or Market Ilsley (close to his former parish of Hampstead Norreys) which he retained till his death in 1630.‡

* It was brought to my knowledge by the Rev. C. O. Fletcher's *Chronicles of Carfax*.

† The manor farm of Tiddington, in the parish of Albury, belongs to Pembroke College. The Rev. H. Jones, Rector of Albury, informs me that the Registers only go back to 1651. The modern church is of no interest.

‡ During the thirteenth and two following centuries the Knights Hospitallers of St. John had the advowson, but at the beginning of the seventeenth century it seems to have belonged to the family of Barnes, one of whom, Joseph Barnes, succeeded Wightwicke. This rector was ejected by the Parliament in 1654 and "his leg broken by a brutal kick from one of the Commissioners."

EAST ILSLEY.

Wightwicke had for neighbour at West Ilsley Rectory (though probably he was not resident) that curious conformist to Anglicanism, Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato and Primate of Dalmatia, preferred by James I. to the Deanery of Windsor, who died in a Roman prison. King Charles visited at West Ilsley a later rector, Bishop Goodman, who trimmed in the opposite direction. East or Market Ilsley (hildeloeg, battlefield) is the scene of enormous sheep fairs, and here the "Butcher" Duke of Cumberland trained his racehorses. It was once an important place, and Wightwicke's church possibly stands on the site of the one built by Cnut "at Nachededorne" (Naked-thorn) to commemorate the battle of Ashdown. The old parsonage house is now pulled down, but the pulpit which Wightwicke occupied remains, and on the inner face of the low battlemented Perpendicular tower is an inscription saying that the tower was rebuilt in 1625. On the tenor bell are the words, "Richard Wightwicke gave this Bell, 1625." In 1627 he added to the tower a clock, which had no face. This is said to have been wrought by the village blacksmith; in 1885 it was superseded by a fine modern clock which displays as well as sounds the hours. The Registers do not go back beyond Commonwealth times, but begin with the year 1653. The very first entry is that of the marriage of a Richard Wightwicke to Mary Westall, and the name occurs frequently down to the middle of the eighteenth century. The co-Founder was never married, but his kith and kin seem to have struck root at

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Ilsley.* In his will he mentions several relatives without any place of abode added, who were doubtless living near at hand. One of them, Thomas Wightwicke, witnessed his signature. A grandson of the co-Founder's first cousin Humphrey, the head of the elder branch of the family, George Wightwicke (born 1578), is said to have brought his family with him from Patshull, Salop, in the last year of Richard's life, and to have acted as his curate. Walter Wightwicke, brother perhaps of George, was buried at Ilsley in 1622, aged thirty-nine. There, too, by his own desire, was laid under the chancel the body of Richard Wightwicke, at the beginning of the year 1633 $\frac{1}{2}$. He was then about eighty-two years old, and describes himself in his will as "weake in bodie, but of good and perfect memory." There is nothing to mark his resting-place. The portrait in Pembroke College Hall is certainly of the former half of the seventeenth century, and does not look like a fancy picture. In Wood's *History and Antiquities* (1674) are vignettes containing the heads of Wightwicke and Tesdale. Little describes Wightwicke in 1627 as

"a man very prudent, provident, and circumspect in all his actions, diligent and painful in his calling and profession and just in all his dealings in worldly affairs, and by good desert in his vocation and ministry hath attained to his ecclesiastical promotions. And moreover by God's blessing and his own industry hath also compassed and gotten a fair temporal estate. . . . He hath seen almost fourscore years and yet liveth in perfect health."

* By the courtesy of the Rev. H. A. Lowsley, Vicar of Hampstead Norreys, I have examined the Registers there, which date back to 1538, but find no trace of the family.

ABINGDON SCHOOL TO BE BENEFITED.

The neighbourhood of Ilsley to Abingdon doubtless gave Wightwicke an interest in the Grammar School there, but we do not know that he had any ties with the School, or that he was even acquainted with his fellow-founder, Tesdale. I take it, however, that, having relatives settled round him in Berkshire, he regarded Roysse's School as a place where their sons and descendants would naturally find education. The earlier, or 1624, Statutes certainly made provision for Abingdonians of the Founder Wightwicke's kin. In the 1628 Statutes the Abingdon connexion is not so close, and no preference is given to lads of Wightwicke's kindred who should also have been at the School.

WIGHTWICKE'S GIFT.

The benefaction of Richard Wightwicke consisted first of £500, which he directed to be paid out of certain rents, between the years 1625 and 1629, for the building of chambers in the newly founded College; but of this a sum of £10 annually was settled on the Master. Next he enfeoffed to the College, on the morrow of the feast of St. Michael, 1628, his Berkshire manors and estates at Marlstone, Thatcham, Bucklebury and Bowdones, of which he had granted to his nephew, Samuel Wightwicke, a four hundred and ninety-nine years' lease, with a reserved rent to the College of £70, and also his estate called Quarrels, in the parish of Appleton, Berks, leased for a like term of years to another nephew, Walter Wightwicke, with a rent reserved to the College of £30. He further promised £200 to be applied to the purchasing of £10 *per annum*

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for the use and benefit of the Master and his successors, but in his will, dated January 11, 1638, substituted a perpetual rent-charge of £10 issuing out of the lands of Thomas Hinde.* The reserved rents before mentioned, amounting to £100 a year, were to maintain *three Fellows*, receiving £20 each, and *four Scholars*, receiving £10 each, these stipends or pensions to begin from Lady Day, 1630. When that date arrived, Wightwicke was a few weeks deceased. In intention, however, his benefaction had not been a mere death-bed bequest. Seeing that the Berkshire properties, now much increased in value, will not come to the College till the third decade of the twenty-second century, and that it has only received annually the sum reserved to it, there may be a disposition to disparage Wightwicke's part in founding the College. A yearly gift, however, by a clergyman, beginning in his own lifetime, of £110, equivalent to ten times as much in money of modern value, was a handsome benefaction. "What the yearly value of his living was," writes Fuller, "I know not, and have cause to believe it not very great; however, one would conjecture his Benefice a Bishoprick by his bounty to *Pembroke Colledge*." That bounty has been largely augmented in later times by the foundations of Francis Wightwick and of Mrs. Dorothea Wightwick.

CONSTITUTION OF THE COLLEGE.

The united Tesdale and Wightwicke foundations sufficed to maintain a Master, ten Fellows, and ten Scholars, whose stipends were at least as large as the average stipends of the members of other Colleges.

* This cannot now be identified certainly.

Pembroke College was opened on August 5, 1624, with a skeleton constitution. Both Founders had provided that the first profits accruing should be expended on building rooms for the reception of their students, save that Tesdale's six Poor Scholars were at once, as we have seen, to receive their places. Accordingly, though the ten Fellows and ten Scholars were named in the Letters Patents of June 29, 1624, and were formally admitted on August 5, they found themselves obliged, by an ordinance of the Commissioners for making a body of Statutes for the College, to resign all their right and title in their places within a month after being admonished in writing by the Master to do so, except the five, Lee, Dring, Read, Allen and Bowles, who together with the ill-fated Crabtree had erstwhile occupied Cæsar's Lodgings. As soon as the building charges should have been defrayed, ten Fellows and five Scholars were to be elected into the vacant places. One would expect that most, if not all, of the original fifteen would be afterwards re-elected; but the surviving co-Founder was given the usual privilege during his lifetime of appointing and removing his Fellows, without any restriction as to age, rank, or literary qualification, and mention is made in an injunction of Bishop Laud, the Visitor of the College, dated December 6, 1632, of an original Fellow, *George Wightwicke*, who does not figure in the list above mentioned. The co-Founder had desired that he should be dispensed from suffering any deduction from his stipend for non-residence, from the rule depriving of his place any Fellow or Scholar who should marry, have an income of above ten pounds by the year, or hold a benefice with cure of

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souls, and from the necessity of graduating. The injunction also speaks of one Fellow and three Scholars, nominated by Wightwicke and of his kindred, who, being but twelve years old and at school, were nevertheless, by his wish, to receive their full stipends until the age of seventeen, if meanwhile they remain "in ludo literario, ut instructiores ad bonarum artium studia ad Collegium accedant"; but this was not to be a precedent for the future. It is hardly credible that some of the members of the foundation named in the Charter of 1624 (and admitted in the Common Hall?) were scarcely four years old. One of the Charter Fellows, *Henry Wightwicke*, afterwards Master, was at that date thirty-four.

FIRST AND SECOND DRAFTS OF STATUTES.

At the ceremony of Inauguration of the new College, Richard Wightwicke, though living no great distance from Oxford, seems not to have been present. He was one of the Commissioners for drawing up Statutes for the good government of the House, but his name is not appended to those of 1624. Anthony Wood clearly had not heard of the existence of these Statutes, of which a copy on vellum remains among the College muniments. In 1628, however, when Wightwicke's plans were probably more matured, a modified edition of the Statutes was issued, and all the five extant copies of this edition bear "Richard Wightwicke"'s signature. In the earlier Statutes his three Fellows were to have been educated at Abingdon, and one to be of his kindred. In those of 1628, two were to be of his kindred or name, with no restriction as to place of birth or education. In 1624 the kin-Fellow was to study theology,

proceed M.A., and be ordained priest; of the other two, one was to graduate in Medicine, the other in Civil Law. In 1628 all three were to be ordained, and within twenty years proceed to B.D. In the earlier draft the Master and Fellows of the College elected to all Fellowships; in the later the Master and the Tesdale Fellows elected to that foundation, and the Wightwicke Fellowships were to be filled up by seniority from among the Wightwicke Scholars, either foundation or Abingdonian. An income of ten pounds was now to vacate a Wightwicke Fellow's place; in 1624 it had been, as on the Tesdale foundation, forty pounds. A cure of souls outside and inside Oxford was in 1624 to vacate any Fellowship. In the later Statutes a Tesdale Fellow was allowed to hold a benefice in the city. A few years afterwards King Charles I. bestowed the advowson of St. Aldate's on the College.

FOUNDER'S KIN.

Of the four Wightwicke Scholars it had been ordained that two should be of his kindred, out of Abingdon School, or if none found there, from some other school; the other two from the poorer boys at Abingdon School, "or some other school," being apt and meet. The 1628 Statutes say that two shall be of Wightwicke's name or kindred, wherever born or educated, and two from Roysses's Grammar School. The electors to Tesdale Scholarships were to be the Master (having a double vote), the two senior Tesdale Fellows ("Fellows of the College" in 1624), the Master and two senior Governors of the Hospital of Christ in Abingdon, and Roysses's Schoolmaster. It was so laid down in Tesdale's will.

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The Wightwicke vacancies were, in the earlier draft, to be filled in a similar way ; but in 1628 a kin Scholarship falling vacant was to be given to the youth who should be first presented to the Master and two of the senior Fellows by one of the two kin Fellows. The inferior limit of age was raised from eighteen to nineteen.

FELLOWS TO BE DIVINES.

Wightwicke Scholars as well as Fellows were now to make divinity their profession. The tide of national interest was beginning to run strongly in the direction of divinity and away from secular studies. Every Fellow of Pembroke was henceforth for a time obliged to celibacy and holy orders. Yet, strangely enough, the first Master was a married physician. After Dr. Clayton, however, a lay Master was practically provided against by the qualifications imposed on the Fellows, unless, indeed, one of the Ossulston Fellows (founded in 1672) were elected. The question of their eligibility was decided first in the negative and then in the affirmative by the Duke of Wellington in 1844. The annexation of a canonry to the Mastership in 1714 made it thenceforward practically a clerical office.

CHARTER FELLOWS AND SCHOLARS.

The Fellows and Scholars of the double foundation as originally nominated were as follows : *Fellows* : Thomas Godwyn, B.D., Robert Payne, M.A., Christopher Tesdale, M.A., Nicholas Coxeter, M.A., Charles Sagar, M.A., Thomas Westley, M.A., William Lyford, M.A., Henry Wightwicke, M.A., John Price and

William Griffith. *Scholars*: John Lee, B.A., William Reade, B.A., Francis Dringe, B.A., Richard Allen, B.A., John Bowles, John Grace, Thomas Millington, Humphrey Gwynne, Richard Kirfoote, and George Griffith, B.A.

A few words may be added about some of the above. *Dr. Thomas Godwyn*, a learned classical scholar and Hebraist, was Chief Master of Abingdon School, for the use of which he published, about 1613, his *Florilegium Phrasicon*, and his *Romanae Historiae Anthologia*. In the "Benevolo Lectori" of the latter he describes himself writing at his pedagogue's desk amid the chattering din of his boys, or posed by their knotty questions, but for which he would have bidden adieu to such studies and betaken himself to beloved theology. Teaching school, he says, is a mill, surrounded with harsh rules and daily miseries. He was chaplain to Bishop Montagu (who presented him to Brightwell, Berks, where he is buried), and engaged in controversy on the Arminian side with Dr. William Twiss, Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines, who, according to Clarke, "promptly whipped the old Schoolmaster." Dr. Godwyn took in marriage Philippa, and afterwards Elizabeth, Tesdale.—*Dr. Robert Payne*, son of the first Tesdale Usher, was Canon of Christ Church, 1638–48, but sequestered by Parliament in 1646 from the Rectory of Todmorton, on the plea that "he hath deserted the Cure for the space of three years past, and resided in y^e garrison of Oxon."—*Christopher Tesdale* became Canon of Chichester (1626) and of Wells (1628), but sat in the Westminster Assembly, and preached before the House of Commons.—*Nicholas Coxeter*,

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afterwards Vicar of Dunstew, had been a member of Broadgates Hall.—*Charles Sagar* died as Rector of South Morton in 1637.—*Thomas Westley* was made a Prebendary of Wells after the Restoration.—*William Lyford*, Fellow of Magdalen, 1620–33, Vicar of Sherborne, 1632, sat in the Westminster Assembly.—*Henry Wightwicke* was afterwards Master.—*John Price*, of Farnborough,* had witnessed Wightwicke's will.—*William Griffith* (B.C.L. 1627) had been at Broadgates.

John Lee, one of the original Tesdale Scholars, was at College "an indefatigable student and of proficiency answerable." "It may be said of all the other five together compared to him," writes Savage, "as was answered of *Mercuries* Picture in the fable compared to *Jupiter's* and *Juno's*, viz., That he that would buy these two should have the third into the bargain." An Interlude is ascribed to his pen. At the opening of the College Lee delivered one of the four Latin orations. M.A. 1625. He died shortly after.†—*Richard Allen* was afterwards beneficed near Ewelme, and dedicated *An Antidote against Heresie*, in 1648, to his uncles, Sir Thomas Gainsford, Kt., and Humphrey Huddleston, Esq.—*John Bowles*, B.D., had some diversions with the Parliamentary Commissioners, which shall be mentioned later.—*George Griffith*, who had entered Christ Church as a Westminster student in 1619, became, in 1660, Bishop of St. Asaph, and translated the Prayer-

* The late Master was in descent from him.

† In St. Helen's Church, Abingdon, is the tomb of his father (?), five times mayor, and blest in his lifetime with "issue from his loynes 200 lacking but 3" (Ashmole).

Book, as revised after the Restoration, into the British tongue, in accordance with the Act of Uniformity, § xxvii. He had had much controversy with the Itinerants during the Rebellion, and had been deprived of his canonry, archdeaconry, and rectories, though by no means a strong Episcopalian. The form of Adult Baptism is due, wholly or in part, to Bishop Griffith, who died November 28, 1666, and is buried in his Cathedral Church.

CHAPTER VIII

PEMBROKE COLLEGE INAUGURATED

ROYAL CHARTER.

ON August 5, 1624, Pembroke College was ceremonially inaugurated, the Foundation Charter and Licence of Mortmain were read in the Common Hall, and the Master, Fellows, and Scholars admitted. The Charter spoke of the Tesdale benefaction as completed and that of Wightwicke as being in intent, looking to which the Major, Ballives and Burgesses of Abingdon had supplicated the King (William, Earl of Pembroke, the Chancellor of the University, consenting) that within Broadgates Hall in the University of Oxon he would constitute a College consisting of Master, Fellows, and Scholars. Wherefore the King ordained and constituted that within the said Hall of Broadgates there should be one perpetual College for students of Sacred Divinity, Civil and Common Law, Arts, Medicine, and other good arts and tongues, and that it should consist of one Master, ten Fellows, and ten graduate or non-graduate Scholars, or more or fewer; and that it should be a body corporate and politick with perpetual succession, to be known by the name of *The Master, Fellows, and Scholars of Pembroke College in the University of Oxford, of the foundation of King James, at the cost and*

charges of Thomas Tesdale and Richard Wightwicke. Thomas Clayton, M.D., was constituted the first and modern Master of the said College.

OPENING CEREMONY.

The company present included the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Prideaux) and the Proctors, Robert Lord Dormer, afterwards Earl of Carnarvon, who fell at the battle of Newbury, and his brother Robert Dormer—they were Gentlemen-Commoners of Exeter, but their cousins *Sir Fleetwood* and *Eusebius Dormer*, two gallant cavaliers, entered Pembroke in 1634—Sir Francis Godolphin (father of Sidney, Earl of Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer of England), Sir John Smith (son, I think, of Sir Thomas Smith, James I.'s Latin Secretary, who had been at Abingdon School), Dr. Daniel Featley or Fairclough, Archbishop Abbot's well-known chaplain, afterwards Provost of Chelsea College, the Mayor, Recorder and Principal Burgesses of Abingdon, and a large number of members of the University. Four speeches were delivered in Latin, the first by a young man destined to a great place in English literature, Thomas, afterwards *Sir Thomas, Browne*, who had been at Broadgates eight months as a Gentleman-Commoner, and thus forms an interesting link between Hall and College. Broadgates, hitherto without father or founder, was not, he said, dead, but had been taken under the protection of a munificent and noble patron of learning, who would convert a Hall of brick into a College of marble—a prophecy which, if it alluded to financial expectations from the Earl of Pembroke, was doomed

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to disappointment. This oration came from the representative of the undergraduates. The second, by the Bachelor Scholar, *John Lee*, perhaps nephew of Dr. Clayton, spoke of Archbishop Abbot as having supplied a welcome prop and support to "our fate long trembling on either side to its fall." I presume this refers to the uncertain position in which the six original Tesdale Scholars had been placed. *Matthias Turner, M.A.*, Prælector of Physick and Philosophy, spoke for the teaching staff. Tragic lamentation over the extinction of the ancient Hall, whose youth, like that of Æson, was to be splendidly renewed, was not required. The Lateportenses would find themselves, within the old walls, not exiles but at home. Turner (M.A. from Balliol, 1622) was "an excellent Philosopher, had great skill in the Oriental Languages, and wrote all his sermons which he preached in Greek." The last oration was delivered by Dr. Clayton, the new Master. His speech, as well as those of Browne and Lee, alludes not obscurely to the jealousy and recrimination aroused by the foundation of the College. It is strange that the next College to be founded in Oxford—Worcester—should also have arisen upon the disappointed expectations of Balliol College—but not of Balliol only—and that the founder should have been a Pembroke man, *Sir Thomas Cookes*.

GRANT OF ARMS.

The Arms bestowed on the College were those of the Earl of Pembroke, with an augmentation granted by James I. of a chief bearing the badges of England and Scotland. The shield is this: Per pale, azure and

gules, three lions rampant, two and one, argent (for Herbert). A chief per pale, argent and or, charged on the dexter side with a rose gules, and on the sinister with a thistle vert (for King James). From an early date until recently the above shield was usually blazoned wrongly, the chief being given as or and argent. It is so, *e.g.*, in Burke, in Burgon's *Arms of the Colleges*, and on the New Schools. The arms of the co-Founders were not introduced into the shield, though Dean Burgon boldly suggests that the thistle is really a teazle, with a canting allusion to Tesdale's name. Anthony Wood mistook the teazles which do appear in the Tesdale coat (no doubt the "d" was in former times mute) for leaves or pine-apples vert. Thomas Tesdale bore : Argent, a chevron, vert, between three teasells proper. As he was a cloth-maker, there was a further appropriateness in the teazles. Richard Wightwicke bore : Azure, on a chevron argent, between three pheons, or, as many crosses patée, gules.

STATUTES.

Some further mention must be made of the College Statutes. A royal commission for making these had been issued to George, Archbishop of Canterbury, William Earl of Pembroke, the Vice-Chancellor for the time being, Sir John Bennet, Sir Eubule Thelwall, the Master for the time being, Walter Dayrell, Esquire, Recorder of Abingdon, and Richard Wightwicke, clerk, or any four of them. Thelwall was a Master in Chancery and Principal of Jesus College, which he was in 1624 edifying and embellishing, and for which he had lately helped to frame a body of Statutes, somewhat

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Puritan in tone. Walter Dayrell or Darrel, a member of the Lillingstone-Dayrell family—his father, Paul Dayrell, was High Sheriff of Bucks in 1563—and a kinsman of the famous “Wild Darrel,” was a third lawyer, and represented the interests of the people of Abingdon. He has a monument in St. Nicholas Church there, dying June 29, 1628. But his signature appears neither on the 1624 nor on the 1628 Statutes. Sir John Bennet also died before the later draft was made. The signature of Accepted Frewen, afterwards Archbishop of York, takes the place in 1628 of that of John Prideaux, as Vice-Chancellor. The tall, stately, old-fashioned handwriting of the Earl of Pembroke, so different from the seventeenth-century hands of the other signers (though Wightwicke’s is in the old script),* falls in with what Fuller says of this nobleman, that “he would comply with no customs in his converse but the old English—though his contemporaries make that his defect rather than his ornament, proceeding from his want of travel rather than his observance of antiquity.”

RELIGION AND MORALS.

After invoking the blessing of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, the Commissioners set forth to constitute a House “*piam, literatam, studiosam, in Dei gloriam, bonum Ecclesiae et reipublicae.*” The Lord must build the house if the labour of the builders is not to be in vain, and therefore the Statutes begin with ordinances about divine service to be held “in the College Chapel or other convenient place to be assigned

* Compare, *e.g.*, Cromwell’s signature with Milton’s.

by the Master and the majority of the Fellows." The aisle in St. Aldate's was still used for the purpose. All are to attend morning prayers between five and six o'clock, but out of term at seven o'clock, paying a fine of twopence for absence, of a penny for coming in after the Psalms; but below the age of eighteen offenders may be either fined or whipped. This is perhaps the last occasion of the rod being prescribed at Oxford. The common prayers are to include a commemoration of Founders and Benefactors. The whole College, properly habited, is to accompany the Master or Vicegerent to the Latin sermon at St. Mary's, at the beginning of term and on other occasions. Fautors of heresies and of opinions contrary to the teaching of the Church of England are to be fined 6*d.* for the first offence, 2*s.* 6*d.* for the second, suspended from all emoluments except their chamber for the third, and if impenitent at the end of three months to be expelled. Profane swearing is to be punished by a fine of 12*d.*, or, if the offender be a junior, by the rod. A Latin grace is to be said before and after meat, and about the middle of dinner and supper a convenient portion of Holy Scripture in Latin is to be read aloud, all meanwhile sitting modestly, becomingly, covered, according to their condition, in reverence and silence. The meals are to conform to the laws of Church and Realm, *i.e.*, as regards feast and fast days.

THE LIFE OF A FAMILY.

Then follow Statutes regarding the constitution of the College and the duties of its various members. Bishop Foxe followed out the idea of a beehive at

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Corpus Christi. The Pembroke commissioners take the more obvious and usual idea of a well-ordered Family, working it out in detail with almost mediæval quaintness. One may recall the *Observancie regulares* of the Austin Canons at Barnwell, where the abbot or prior was “*pater monasterii*,” the sub-prior or provost was the tender mother of the spiritual household, and, standing between the “prelate” and the convent, “*ad propinandum dulcedinem lactis habere debet ubera matris*.”* Equally the Benedictine rule was based on the plan of a family. The Master of the College, as *pater familias*, is to be a glass and pattern of piety, gravity, prudence, toil and study to all the members; the Fellows are the *fili familias*, in regard to the loyal help they are to afford the Master in the governance of a household dedicated to religion and learning, and both he and they stand in a paternal relation to the Scholars. In such a well-ordered family the servants will have their due place. Those mentioned are the obsonator, the promus, the coquus, the faber, the lignarius, the lapidarius, the hortularius, the janitor and the tonsor. The last named dressed the heads of Fellows and undergraduates for dinner until quite recent times. The Oxford Guild of Barbers was only dissolved in 1859.

THE COMMONERS.

After the members of the foundation, a section is devoted to the Commoners, a class of students who,

* See *Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of St. Giles and St. Andrew at Barnwell*, by J. Willis Clark (1897), pp. 36, 55, 147, 207.

continuing from the Broadgates days, were to form comparatively a much larger element at Pembroke than at most other Colleges, so that in 1851 seventy out of seventy-three undergraduates were Commoners. These "*commensales seu comminarii*," living in College at their own charges, were to be courteously welcomed to all the commodities of the family life, as strangers and guests, but to be under discipline like members of the foundation, and to pay the fees paid by Commoners in Broadgates Hall. Fellow-Commoners ("Commoners of Masters and Bachelors in Arts") are to rank above undergraduates.

OTHER RULES.

All, from the Master down to the *famuli*, are on admission to swear on the Holy Gospels to observe the Statutes and not reveal College secrets, save that Scholars and Commoners under fifteen are to make a promise only. In case of candidature for the Proctorship or like University office, votes are to be given by all to the candidate on whom the Master and the majority of the Fellows shall have agreed. There are a number of disciplinary and sumptuary regulations as respects carrying arms, violence, insulting words, sleeping out of College, dissolute companions, and forbidden games. Subordination and outward marks of reverence to those of higher standing are enjoined, and mutual courtesy and concord among all. Appeals to outside courts of law are proscribed, unless leave be given. Unbecoming attire, long hair, cloaks and high boots are censured. A complete *curriculum* of intra-mural studies and exercises was laid down, for the out-College lecture had

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not yet been revived, and each College desired to be self-sufficient and purvey the whole orb of knowledge to its members. There are to be a Vice-gerent, two Censors or Deans, and two Bursars. The Vice-gerent; though appointed by the Master annually, does not usually change from year to year.

CHAPTER IX

THOMAS CLAYTON, PRINCIPAL, 1620-1624,
AND MASTER, 1624-1647

EARLY DAYS.

WE must now turn back a few years. The first Master of Pembroke College, *Dr. Thomas Clayton*, was a man of ability and character. Born in 1575, he had his schooling at Newcastle-on-Tyne, whence he entered Balliol in October 1591, B.A. 1594. He then migrated to Gloucester Hall, where he taught pupils, some of whom retained their attachment to him a quarter of a century later. M.A. 1599. His studies were chiefly in languages, music, and natural philosophy; in the last subject he disputed before James I. in 1605. M.B. and M.D. from Balliol June 20, 1611. Three months before, the King had made him Regius Professor of Physick, the endowment of which chair James had augmented, annexing to it afterwards the Mastership of Ewelme Hospital. When this preferment fell vacant in 1628, Clayton succeeded to it. In order to become Regius Professor of Medicine he had resigned the post of Musick Professor in Gresham College, holden by him from 1607 to 1611. On July 25, 1622, Dr. Clayton, together with a distinguished Broadgates physician,

Edward Dawson, Anthony Wood's godfather, took a leading part in the inauguration of the new Physick Garden, almost the earliest public garden in England, both delivering orations. Clayton was at this time Principal of Broadgates, the Earl of Pembroke having nominated him thereto, in his capacity of Regius Professor of Medicine, as already related, on June 14, 1620. In 1623 he was appointed by Richard Tomlyns to be the first Praelector of Anatomy, and delivered his inaugural lecture March 12, 1624. Primerose dedicated to Clayton his *Academia Monspeliensis*, and Day described him as "Oxoniensium medicorum decus." The latter writer, in his *Concio ad Clerum*, speaks of Clayton's care for the souls as well as the bodies of his patients; unlike Chaucer's Doctor of Phisike, whose "study was but little on the Bible." We also learn from Savage that he was "a good linguist, to whom great Avicenne might speak and be understood without an interpreter.*

DESIGNED EXPANSION OF BROADGATES HALL.

Within three weeks of his appointment as Principal, Dr. Clayton had obtained a number of contributions towards a scheme of expansion. A duodecimo presented to the College in 1795 by Sir Hugh Palliser gives the names and sums. At the beginning is written Σὺν Θεῷ and *Auspice Christo*. Then :

"We whose names here follow in this booke, in our love to learning, the University, and particularly to Broadgates

* By the original Statutes of St. John's College, there was to be a physician among the Fellows (see Mr. Hutton's *History of St. John's College*).

Hall in Oxford, w^{ch} needeth enlargement of the Hall for meeting at Commons, Disputations, &c., as also some lodgings for Students, do contribute as followeth—July 15, 1620. Thos. Clayton, Principall, xx^d to be paid presently towards the providing of materialls. Who promiseth his best care for the disposing of all to the best use of the house, and account to the Contributors of the Employment of all the money which shall come by their love and bounty. Thomas Clayton Principall."

The names of some of the donors are worth recording, since the pedigree of George Washington has only recently been elucidated,* and anything relating to his ancestors will interest Americans. "The noble Lady Mary Anderson" gave 22*s.*; Sir Richard Anderson, of Pendley, Herts, 44*s.*; Sir William Spencer, "Knight of the Bathe to Prince Charles, sonne and Heire of the Right Honorable Lord Spencer," 44*s.*; Lady Penelope Spencer, 44*s.*; Mr. Robert Nedham, of Shavington or Shenton, afterwards second Viscount Kilmorey, 22*s.*; Mrs. Margaret Washington, of Northants, 11*s.* This lady was, if I am not mistaken, the grandmother of John Washington, who crossed the sea to America in 1657, great-grandfather of the famous Virginian. She was eldest daughter of William Butler, of Tighes or Tees, in the county of Sussex, and was living in 1636. The home of the Washington family was Brington, Northants, where are the tombs of their especial friends the Spencers. Now one of these, Robert Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton, married his daughter, the above-mentioned Lady Mary, to Sir Richard Anderson of

* See *The Ancestry of Washington*, by H. F. Waters, A. M., Boston, New England Genealogical Society, 1889.

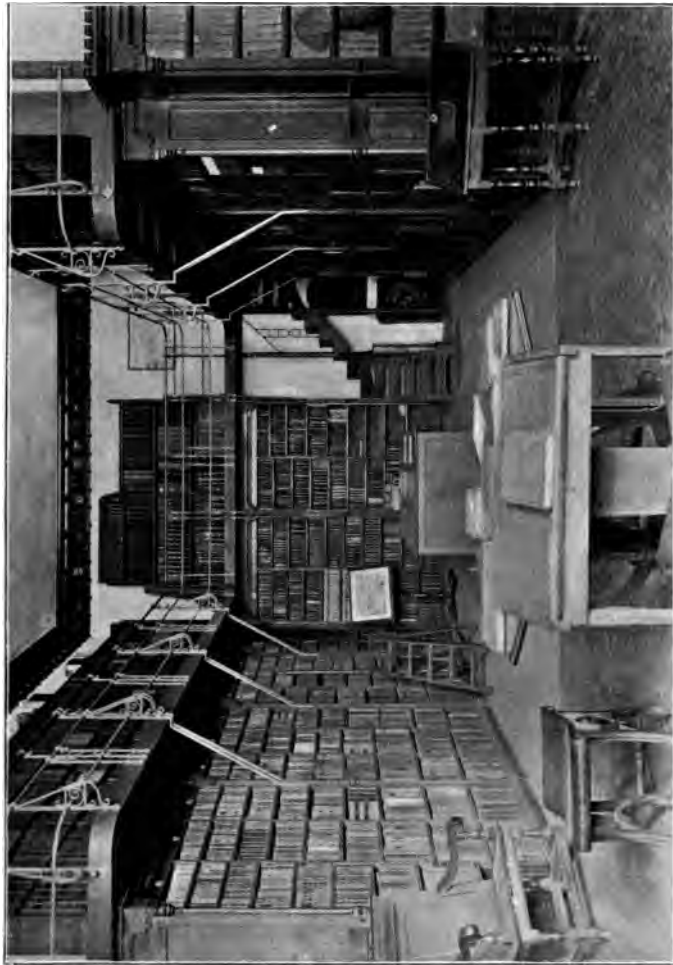
Pendley, Tring (sold to him by Sir F. Verney), and both are buried there before the altar. The first Viscount Kilmorey married Sir Richard's sister. So that this was a purse made up by members of one family. Sir Richard Anderson sent his sons to the newly founded College, and with them entered the third *Viscount Kilmorey*. Among Pembroke names we find *Mordaunt*, son of Sir John *Washington* and a grandson of Margaret Washington, serving in the royal army during the Rebellion as a cornet of horse. One or two other names of Pembroke men occur in connexion with this family; one of them, *Stephen Dagnall* of Tring, a young M.A., was buried in St. Aldate's in 1630. *Sir Justinian Lewyn*, of Broadgates, was also a connexion. Among other donations to the Hall were "five peices from the right honorable my Lady Viscountesse Doncaster," wife of James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, Ambassador to the King of France in 1616;—a Gentleman-Commoner of this family, the *Hon. William Howard, M.P.*, gave two gilt candlesticks to the Chapel in 1694;—22*s.* from *Sir Thomas Wrothe* of Durance, Middlesex, "sometymes Scholler to the Principall," a Commissioner for the trial of the King; and 33*s.* from Richard Astley, Warden of All Souls. Several doctors in Clayton's faculty subscribed, as Dr. George Raleigh, of New Inn, who practised in Oxford, where "he was much in repute till the time of his death," about 1623; Dr. Eleazer Hudson, brother of Phineas Hudson, "eminent for his practice in the City of London" (an old school-fellow of the Principal's); and *Dr. Peter Chamberlayne*, incorporated as a Commoner of Broadgates from Padua,

who published among other things a *Vindication of publick artificial Bathes*. Mrs. Elizabeth Lee, the Principal's sister, collected donations for "the new Hall" from merchants living on London Bridge.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE REFECTORY.

The Hall was enlarged by the addition of the transverse portion, one entire window ("stonework, iron, glasse, etc."); being paid for by Lionell Day, B.D., Fellow of Balliol and brother of the well-known writer, John Day, and the largest window, containing the arms of the University, being "glassed" at the charges of Dr. Thomas James, S.T.P., of New College, first Keeper of the University Library, which he enriched with MSS. borrowed from the shelves of any society which, while cataloguing the manuscript possessions of all the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, he perceived to be careless of them. He was himself styled "a living library," "wholly dedicated," said Camden, "to learning"; a prince, too, of controversial critics. Another donor was Milton's friend John Rous, of Oriel, who succeeded Dr. James as Bodley's Librarian. Pym's gift of 44*s.* has been mentioned. Though several of the subscribers speak of the "new Hall," it is clear that the main portion of the old building was kept. The Perpendicular doorway remained till 1830, and the walls are of unusual thickness.

The illustration here given shows the older part of this room, associated with so many memories during the four centuries that it served as the common hall and lecture-room.



From a photograph by the

THE OLD HALL (PRESENT LIBRARY)

(Showing Johnson's two Desks)

[Oxford Camera Club

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY.

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

BROADGATES HALL FLOURISHING AT THE TIME OF ITS
INCORPORATION.

In the first year of Clayton's Principalship the entries of new students had risen from three to twenty-nine. In 1623 Browne matriculated, and also *Sir Anthony Hungerforde, M.A.*, of Farleigh Castle, imprisoned during the Rebellion in the Tower of London. His London house became the Hungerford Market, and finally Charing Cross Railway Station. Browne's tutor at Broadgates and Pembroke was *Dr. Thomas Lushington*, "reputed by the generality of scholars eminent for his Philosophical learning,"* "*oraculum juris divini et humani totiusque encyclopaediae.*" He doubtless gave an anti-Calvinian turn to his distinguished pupil's mind, but Lushington's own Arminianism ran very near to the tenets of Socinus. As a pulpit humorist and facetious pioneer of a not very reverent Latitudinarianism, he incurred the stern warning of a Norwich prebendary about the Broad Gate which leadeth to destruction. He had followed to Norfolk that kindred spirit and fellow Lateportensian, Bishop Corbet, as chaplain in 1632. In 1624 Lushington had to preach a recantation sermon at St. Mary's: otherwise he would have been brought before Parliament.† Corbet obtained for him a chaplaincy to Prince Charles. During the Rebellion he lost his preferments, but on the King's return was offered a deanery, which, however, he declined. It was at Lushington's solicitation that Browne settled in Norwich,

* *Athenae*, ii. 233.

† On his epitaph at Sittingbourne he is described as a peacemaker, and classed with "those heroes, Cassander, Gerson, Melanchthon and Grotius," as at once learned and meek.

combined with the advice of three friends who were with him, Wilkins thinks, at Broadgates, *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, *Sir Charles Le Gros*, and *Sir Justinian Lewyn*, already mentioned. Certainly Lewyn was at the Hall. He was Judge-Martial in the Scottish expedition of 1639, and a Master in Chancery. *Sir Thomas Browne*, a writer (says De Quincey) "deep, tranquil and majestic as Milton," took B.A. January 31, 1629, M.A. June 11, 1629, and on July 10, 1637, incorporated M.D. from Leyden. Clément, keeper of the French King's Library (*ob. c. 1705*), speaks of Browne as "un des plus déclarez ennemis de toute Religion, et que l'Université d'Oxford avoit autrefois chassé pour ses débauches." But this is malicious invention.

MS. OF THE "RELIGIO MEDICI."

In the College Library is a valued MS., overlooked, I believe, by the bibliographers, of the *Religio Medici*, presented in 1763 by the Rev. T. Wrigley, M.A. The handwriting is certainly of Browne's time, and the MS. appears to stand midway between the earlier surreptitious edition and the later authorised one.

THE COLLEGE TO HAVE NEW BUILDINGS.

Before any building of chambers for the increased number of Broadgates students could be undertaken, the Hall had become a College. The ancient Broadgates tenements were tumbledown and irregular—by no means helping Greene to his description of Oxford as "gorgeous with high-built Colleges"—and the speeches made at the opening of the new College anticipated

that they would be entirely transformed. A stone quadrangle was to be built, with a tower, and this was at once begun with the money set aside for the purpose by the co-Founders and other contributions, the old buildings towards Brewers, then called Slaying, Lane being demolished. In 1626 Fuller writes: "An old Hall turned into a new College was this yeare finished"; but only the west side and the south side (incorporating the upper part of the city wall) and a portion of the east side were actually erected.* The fore-front of Broadgates was repaired and left standing for half a century.

EXTENSION TO THE WEST.

On the other side of the College the old *Cambey's Lodgings*—bequeathed in 1615 by Principal Summaster to *Sir Samuel Summaster* (entered Broadgates 1607), and sold by the latter in 1622 to Dr. Clayton, who again conveyed it in 1625 to Mr. John Rous, Bodley's Librarian, the friend of Wotton and of Milton, for £368—were bought from Rous by Pembroke College on April 19, 1626, for £350, and, after undergoing some repair, were appointed to be the *Hospitium Magistri*. In the course of the next year or two all the buildings along Beef Lane were acquired for the students of Pembroke.

* In this year 1626 the library of Jesus College was finished; the Hall and Chapel had been built in the last years of James I., which also saw the Hall of Trinity and the old Chapel of Exeter finished. A few years later saw the inner quadrangle at St. John's and the front and west side of University erected, as well as Oriel Quadrangle and Hall begun.

THE CHAMBER IN ST. ALDATE'S USED AGAIN AS A
LIBRARY.

It appears that in the earlier part of Charles I.'s reign the Library over Docklington's aisle, dismantled and stripped by Edward VI.'s Visitors, was being used as chambers. Dr. Clayton resolved that it should once again be a Library, and obtained several benefactions for its reparation and furnishing. He himself gave £20 "for the setting up of four pews or repositories," a number of books and several valuable illuminated MSS., medical and otherwise. Other donors of books were Mr. William Gardiner, of Linton; Sir Robert Hanson, Lord Mayor in 1673, whose great-granddaughter married Henry Wightwicke, of Broad Somerford, Wilts, Fellow of Pembroke; Dr. John Wall, the learned and munificent rector of St. Aldate's; and Francis Rous, who, however, was dissuaded from giving his whole "study" as he had intended. To the aisle below Dr. Clayton added some panelling, part of which may be seen now in Stanton St. John's Church, exhibiting the arms of Pembroke College.

TEACHING STAFF.

Dr. Clayton aimed also at securing for the new College a strong staff of teachers. Lushington, as already mentioned, was one of these. A divinity lecture was also given for a time by a great theologian, *Dr. Thomas Jackson*, afterwards President of Corpus and Dean of Peterborough. Jackson got into trouble with Parliament in 1628 for moderate High Church leanings, and Dr. Clayton's choice of him helps to show that Abbot

was unable to impress a definitely Puritan character on the infant College. With Clayton's own accession to the Principalship a break had been made in the legal traditions of the place, and several physicians of note were bred under him. Such was *Dr. George Joliffe*, who made some anatomical discoveries; he served under Lord Hopton against the Parliament. Browne and Dawson have been mentioned. *Sir Thomas Clayton* was a Fellow of Pembroke and succeeded his father in his chairs of Physick and Anatomy. At the Restoration he was chosen Burgess for the University, and entered Merton College *vi et armis* as its Warden. The scandals about him and haughty Dame Bridget and the Merton Society may be read in Wood's forcible pages. As Sir Thomas can never have been intended for holy orders, his retention of his Fellowship implies considerable relaxation of the Statutes during the "Interval." A later physician-Warden of Merton from Pembroke was *Dr. Robert Wyntle* (1734-50), one of the two first Radcliffe Travelling Fellows. Among the earliest tutors of the College was a young Corpus Christi Bachelor whose attainments attracted the Master's notice, though he already had the reputation of active parliamentary sympathies, *George Hughes*, afterwards a principal leader of nonconformity in Devon, an ejector of "scandalous" clergy, and in his turn ejected and imprisoned.

SOME ALUMNI.

One may suppose that Hughes lectured in Divinity rather than in Medicine; but one of his pupils at Pembroke was *Tobit Garbrand, M.D.*, extruded from the

Principalship of Gloucester Hall in 1660. Garbrand practised at Abingdon, and was buried in St. Helen's, 1689. Another pupil of Hughes was *William*, better known as *Doomsday*, *Sedgwick*, who at College "profited more in Divinity than Philosophy," being "instructed in Presbyterian principles by his Tutor." Sedgwick's absurdities are lampooned in *Hudibras*. He was known as the "Apostle of the Isle of Ely." The House of Commons seems to have taken pleasure in his discourses and those of Hughes (such as the *Arke against a Deluge* and the *Vae-Eugae-tuba* or *Wojoy-Trumpet*). Another of the earliest Fellows was *Dr. William Stampe*, the first to be presented by the College to St. Aldate's (1637), from 1641 Vicar of Stepney, whence he was "violently thrust out, imprison'd, plunder'd, and at length forced to fly for the safety of his life." He was made chaplain to the Prince of Wales, and also to the Queen of Bohemia, dying in exile. A considerable list might be made out from Wood and Walker on the one side, and Calamy on the other, of divines bred at the College under Dr. Clayton, or a little later, who suffered for their orthodoxy or their Puritanism. Such a one was *Thomas Hall* (uncle of Bishop John Hall), a pupil of Dr. Lushington's, but a vehement assailant of the Socinians, between whom and the Cavaliers (against whom he directed treatises with such names as *The Loathsomeness of Long Hair*, *Funebria Florae* or the *Downfall of May Games*) he suffered a good deal—"often accus'd, curs'd, threatened with Death, many times plundered, and five times imprison'd." Hall founded and taught the Free School at King's Norton, where he

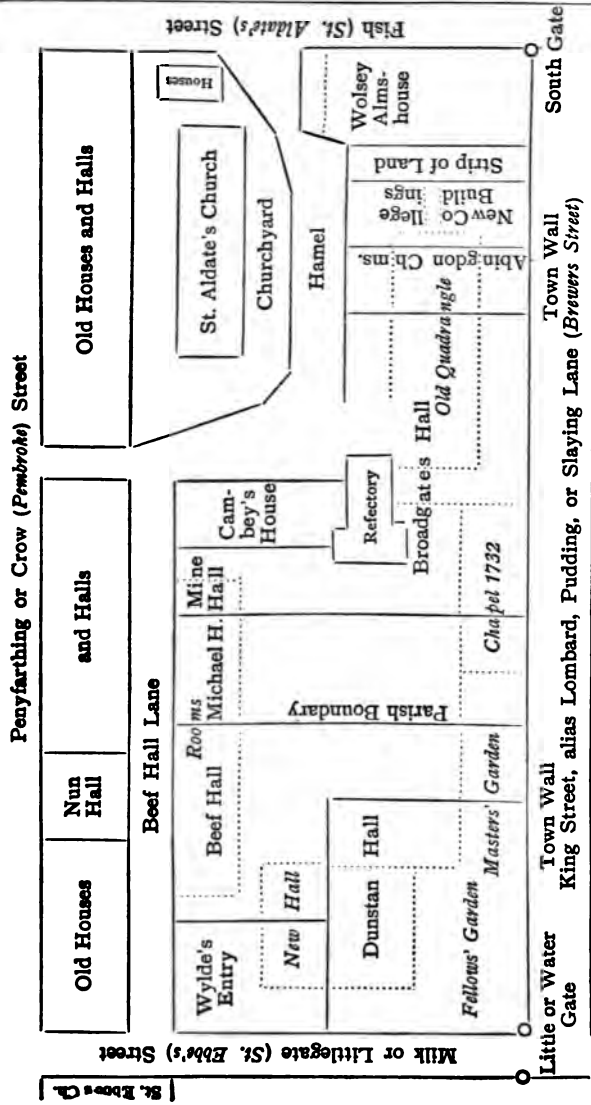
died in deep poverty. There was living in George I.'s reign an aged man who may have remembered James I., *John Humphreys*, who in all his life of ninety-nine years, Calamy remarks, was never able to be of the rising side. Imprisoned by rebel and royalist Parliaments, an exasperating peace-maker, Humphreys after the Restoration "converted all *Ireland* (except two *Scotts*)" by his book upholding the lawfulness of reordination, and then in an agony of self-accusation tore his episcopal Letters of Orders before witnesses and cast them into the flames. He entered Pembroke early in 1639. He was there with a very different character, destined to be the hated terror of Papist and Puritan alike, Lord Chief Justice *Sir William Scroggs*, who in 1639 migrated from Oriel to Pembroke, "where, being put under the tuition of a noted Tutor, he became Master of a good Latine stile and a considerable disputant." B.A. 1640, M.A. 1643. He remained a good while at Oxford, and held a commission in a regiment of foot. Now that Jeffreys has been whitewashed, it may perhaps be shown that Scroggs, "a person of very excellent and nimble parts," was not so black as Whig historians have painted him; but meanwhile he is not a favourite. He appears in Scott's *Peperil of the Peak*. Another contemporary at the College was a student of medicine and of mathematics, *Dr. John Wyberd*, known by fame in Germany, whither he retired on the outbreak of the Rebellion, as "*Trinobans Anglus*." Two notable Pembroke physicians of the Commonwealth period were *Dr. Elisha Coysh* and *Dr. William Quarterman*, M.P. for New Shoreham in the Restoration Parliament and physician to the King. He had engaged on the royal side in

the Navy. The College had not ceased to produce eminent lawyers, such as were (besides Scroggs) *Sir William Childe* (B.C.L. 1632), a Master in Chancery; *Richard Wallop* (matr. 1634), cursitor baron of the Exchequer and treasurer of the Middle Temple; *John Greene* (matr. 1659), treasurer of Lincoln's Inn; *William Yorke*, M.P. for Wilts and Devizes, buried in the Temple Church; *Nicholas Denny*, M.P. for Barnstaple, also a bencher; and others. *Francis Goldsmith*, who entered as a Gentleman-Commoner in 1629, is known as an annotator of Grotius. His contemporary, *Thomas Hunt*, an eminent pedagogue, who wrote *The Grammar Scholler's Flower-Garden*, and who lies in St. Saviour's, Southwark, was only kinsman, I fear, of the Thomas Hunt who (doubtless) whipped Shakespeare.

OLD HALLS ANNEXED. MICHAEL HALL.

It has been mentioned that a further extension to the west took place as soon as the foundation of Pembroke College was completed. Summaster's Lodgings, as Mine Hall was called after 1578, had a garden extending southward to the city wall. Next to this property lay a strip of land belonging to All Souls, on which stood a building divided into two ancient academic halls, inhabited by law students. The more easterly—though Wood and Rowse seem rather uncertain on this point—was *St. Michael's Hall*; the other, *St. James's Hall*. Halls were not often called after saints. Michael Hall had another name, *Durham Hall*, from Thomas de Derham, its owner in the time of Henry III. Windsore, the antiquary, called it Mutton Hall, to match Beef and Veale Halls. In 1338 we find one Hugh Sampson,

SITE OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE



The dotted lines and names in italics indicate the later changes

parson of Ruyshendon, distrained upon for a rent due to the abbat of Letele (?) for this messuage. The rent paid for it and St. James's Hall (first mentioned in 1438), was always 4s. and a groat acquittance, redeemed in 1773 for twelve guineas. In 1543 Dr. John Warner is found in possession. His successor at "Michell Halle," Mr. William Pyknam, had to ask pardon of Convocation in 1458 for having publicly slandered the Vice-Chancellor. It is interesting that one of the two sureties for the Principal of "Aula S. Jacobi" in 1438 was a Richard Wythik, great-great-grandfather, I think, of Richard Wightwicke, the co-Founder of Pembroke. In the previous year Thomas Whythyke is mentioned, and in 1451 his name occurs as alderman. In 1469 the University granted letters testimonial to William Wykwyk, M.A.

BEEF HALL.

A more important property, next towards the west, and in St. Ebbe's parish, was *Beef Hall*, the name of which survives in Beef Lane. Aula Bovina probably had the figure of a beef or ox set as a sign over its door: the name is similar to those of Bull, Swan, Ape, Lion, Hart, Griffin, Nightingale, and Elephant Halls.* The earliest known landlord, by whom Beef Hall together with Tingewick's Inn was granted for a grammar school to the University, was Nicholas de Tingewick, B.D., Prebendary of Sarum and Doctor of Physic, Fellow of

* A leading authority on Oxford topography, Mr. Herbert Hurst, suggests to me a possible derivation of Beef, or Beof, Hall from a very early owner of property in this neighbourhood, Sir Roger de Bellofago (Beofy?). Another derivation is from an owner named Befford.

Balliol, and in 1325 one of the "outside proctors" for seeing Devorguilla's Statutes for that College executed. It cannot be said that professors of that age took no trouble about their lectures; for this doctor, hearing of an old woman who had cured an incredible number of persons afflicted with jaundice, rode forty miles to confer with her, and gave her money to instruct him in her method. The recipe, a mixture of pounded sheep lice (*pediculi*) with honey and water, was duly communicated in the lecture-room to the students of medicine. This is related in the valuable *Breviarium Bartholomei*, a medical manuscript written by John Merfield, a monk of St. Bartholomew's Priory, in the reign of Henry VI., and presented to the College Library by its first Master. Beef Hall was old enough in 1636 to require thorough repair. The first Principal known to us is Richard Emlay, LL.D., *ob.* 1335, whose monument, according to Peshall, was once in St. Ebbe's Church, of which Emlay was rector. Wood's list begins in 1434 only. This Hall was "in some ages inhabited by Irish clerks" studying the civil law. Some of them came, Wood thinks, to be mitred in Ireland. Doubtless Beef Hall Lane, now the dullest and most untrodden thoroughfare in Oxford, was lively enough under such circumstances. The "Irysh clerks beggars" seem to be identified in an expulsive edict of Henry V., passed for "the quietness and peace within the realme of England," with the "chamberdeckens" or chamber-servants. Wood says that Beef Hall "continued in its flourishing estate" till the Reformation. We find "Byf hawle" granted by the University in 1548, with Dunstan Hall adjoining, to Henry Crosse, inferior

bedell of Divinity, for 7*s.* 4*d.* and 3*s.* 6*d.* In 1599 a lease of forty years was granted to Henry Milward, University "stationer" or marshal, who was licensed in 1596 to sell ale. But in 1612 Dionysius Edwards became the tenant. In 1626 it was "not inhabited by anie scholars."

WYLDE'S ENTRY.

The above Henry Milward also rented of the President and Fellows of Magdalen two small pieces of ground at the corner of the Lane, the more southern of which was called *Wylde's Entry* from a Jewish "convers," William le Wylde, buried in 1313 in the adjacent St. Ebbe's Church. The other piece, also a Wylde property, we find bequeathed in 1349 by John Peggy, cordwainer and alderman, Bailiff of Oxford, to the Priory. Wylde's Entry was at one time "a habitation for clerks." The rent of these Magdalen properties, 4*s.* 4*d.*, together with that paid for Mine Hall, was redeemed by the College in 1781 for £18.

DUNSTAN OR WOLSTAN HALL.

There still remains to be described a property, 115 feet by 98 feet, situated "on the west and south side of Beefe Hall," and held with it under the University, to which it was given about 1460 by a Principal, Dr. Hall. This was *Adulstan* (*Athelstan*, *Atherton*) Hall, otherwise *Dunstan* or *Wolstan* Hall, names which, if Adulston was accented on the second syllable, are probably mere variants of it. This Hall had "its door or forefront butting on that street or lane that leadeth from St. Ebb's Church to Littlegate." Its southern boundary, and that of part of Beef Hall, was the town-wall. "*Adulstan*

Halle, juxta Beefe Halle," was "allwaies till the decay of halls supplied by clerks." In 1446 we read of a Principal, Robert Darry (who was also Principal in 1452 of St. James's Hall), summoning one of his scholars for three terms' arrears of rent for his chamber, at 2*s.* 6*d.* a term. The University properties from 1845 were leased at £5 yearly, redeemed by the College in 1872 for £162 6*s.* 4*d.*

LEASES ACQUIRED.

When, then, the newly founded College required more room, it was natural that it should acquire these neighbouring Halls. Within a few years the leases of Dunstan (Adulstan) Hall and of Wylde's Entry were purchased from John Glover of New Woodstock, that of the All Souls land from Thomas Ray of the same town, that of Beef Hall from Glover, Ray, and Richard Evans, barber and innholder. The last named was also the owner of the lease of Mine Hall (Summaster's Lodgings), already annexed to Broadgates, and in 1629 he conveyed it to the College. This, we have seen, became from 1626 the Lodgings of the Master. In Loggan's print of 1675 a side view of the Elizabethan-looking house is shown, with a somewhat projecting upper storey and dormer windows. It has a wing on the north.

THESE HALLS ONLY PARTLY USED BY THE COLLEGE.

The acquisition of the properties west of Summaster's Lodgings does not seem, however, to have added much to the accommodation for students. Dunstan Hall must have disappeared before Charles I.'s reign, though the name "Dunster's" remained down to this century. Wylde's Entry was in Wood's time "a void

peice of ground ;" so, I think, was "Michael Hall." "Beofe Hall" was, in 1636, "verie well" repaired, and in it (apparently) a cock-loft and an upper and lower chamber were let at a penny rent to Mr. John Darby, M.A., for the reception of scholars of Pembroke, everything else west of Summaster's, except the Master's stable,* being let for 20*s.* rent and £20 fine to one John Peacock of Chorley. Towards the end of Beef Hall Lane, on a strip of ground 39 feet by 12 feet, stood "certain chambers" which were burnt down in the great fire of 1644. In and after the Commonwealth period the rooms let to Mr. Darby and to Peacock are found in the occupation of the College manciple, and here lodged, from about November 1676 to August 1677, a very distinguished scholar, *Francis Junius* the younger, who in Beef Hall "disgested" for the press his philological papers and arranged his Saxon and Gothic MSS., which he bequeathed to the University. Visiting Windsor, with the intention of returning to lay his bones in Oxford, he fell ill of a fever, and was buried in St. George's. The premises passed from one tenant to another, and part became a carpenter's workshop. At what date the College began to use the whole for rooms is uncertain—not before 1730. The prints, however, of Loggan (1675), Burghers (1700), Williams (1733), and Vertue (1744) give no hint of anything unacademical in the buildings along the lane, which, with three elaborately laid-out gardens stretching to the town-wall, and covering the whole of the western site of the present College, are shown as part of the College.

* Where till half a century ago stood the chariot in which the Master drove to and from Gloucester.

THE BACK LODGINGS.

Those buildings, known till their demolition in 1844 as the "Back Lodgings," were two in number and detached from one another. The more eastern one was certainly the old Summaster's Lodgings (Mine Hall), which, under the name of "Sommerset Building," was old enough in 1657 to need new "slats." The other consisted of two tenements united in the form of the letter L. Probably, though I do not feel sure, it was the ancient Beef Hall. In various cuts and drawings made of it in this century it bears marks of a Caroline reparation of an older building. Agas's Elizabethan map confuses rather than clears the point. There was no certain tradition a hundred years ago, and Wood himself had lost the clue.

THE GARDENS.

In *Love's Labour's Lost* we hear of "a curious knotted garden." There were three such at Pembroke. The one farthest to the west was the Fellows' garden, the middle one the Master's, the easternmost was called the Commoners' garden, but after 1732 the Chapel Court. In these were delightful clipt galleries, urns, terraces, arches, quincunces, "knottes," and formal walks bordered with Dutch elms, a ball-court, a bowling-green, a large dial, and a pagoda, afterwards the summer Common Room. But the fashions in topiary art changed frequently. The old story of the American visitor asking a College gardener how the smooth lawns of Oxford are made, and receiving the answer, "Why, we roll and water them for several hundred years and get them like

this," is an unfortunate one, for the swards are modern, and have displaced the old architectural paradises whose rectilinear designs, introduced by the English followers of Le Nôtre, harmonised so charmingly with the buildings.

GILBERT WHITE'S LIZARDS.

In the Pembroke gardens Gilbert White, who visited Oxford every year, studied, in the mid-eighteenth century, the habits of a number of Guernsey lizards which had been turned loose. Here Shenstone planted a mulberry-tree, of which a sketch was made in 1844, before it was destroyed. When the New Buildings and Hall arose under Dr. Jeune, and the turf was laid down, a little plot of ground along the city wall was reserved, part for the Master and part for the Fellows. One of the grotesque Sheldonian heads is there. The row of limes which bounds that part of the New Court so pleasantly was planted in 1864, when Dr. Evans had become Master.

FURTHER BENEFACTIONS.

Two benefactions came to the College during Dr. Clayton's Mastership.

STAFFORD SCHOLARSHIPS.

By will dated February 6, 1623, *Juliana*, wife of Alexander, *Stafford*, of High Holborn, gentleman, devised lands in the parish of Harlow, Essex, for a stipend of £5 to be paid to each of four poor Scholars of St. Katharine Hall in Cambridge, and the same to either of *two poor Scholars* of Pembroke College in

Oxford. These were to retain their pensions till M.A., to study Divinity and carry themselves religiously and soberly, being nominated by the Chief Governor of the College.

KING CHARLES I.'s FOUNDATION.

A few years later the connexion between the College and the Channel Islands, strengthened after the Restoration by Bishop Morley's gift, was established through the foundation, by King *Charles the First*, of a *Fellowship* at Pembroke, as well as one at Exeter and one at Jesus College, *for natives of Guernsey and Jersey*. The state of religion and learning in those oldest portions of the domain of the Crown was causing the King and Archbishop Laud considerable anxiety. The Islands had naturally been a place of principal refuge for French Protestants, and Elizabeth in 1565 felt obliged to sanction Presbyterian worship in St. Peter Port and in St. Helier's, whence it spread to the rural parishes. A few years later Romanists were being flogged, and in 1593 all natives of Guernsey who refused the Genevan platform were expelled. Even in Jersey, which accepted certain ecclesiastical canons at the hands of James I. and allowed the Deanery to be re-established, the Presbyterian Colloquy took into its hands the patronage of all the benefices and allowed no person who had received episcopal ordination to be presented. As an illustration of the spirit of the times, Heylin, who visited Guernsey in 1629, tells us that in 1623 a weekly Thursday lecture at St. Peter Port, coinciding with Christmas Day, was omitted rather than seem to countenance the festival of our Lord's Nativity.

CARRYING OUT A PROMISE OF JAMES I.

The provision for training the future ministers of the Islands was also in confusion, especially in Jersey. The College established by Elizabeth in Guernsey in 1563—the year of the foundation of Abingdon School—on the ruins and out of the property of a convent of Cordeliers, had started well under the ferule of Saravia and of Isaac Basire. But in the sister isle certain rents given in 1598 by Laurens Baudains for a similar purpose were in 1611 still lying idle, or diverted to other uses. In that year James I. incorporated thirteen Governors to employ Baudains' benefaction and any others for training up scholars in learning and in the study of Divinity. In 1618 the States, through Sir Philip de Carteret, seigneur of St. Ouen, and other justices, petitioned the King "that his Majestie would be pleased to graunte unto them some places in such of those Colledges as are in his Majesties guifte for the maintenance at the Universities of such poore Schollers as shall be recommended by the three Estates of the Island." James promised that the request should be complied with, but no opportunity occurred during the remainder of his reign to give effect to the promise. Meanwhile the States continued to pay the charges of an occasional student at Saumur, and once or twice at Cambridge. Charles I. considered that the interests of learning and orthodoxy would be better promoted by bringing the future Channel Island clergy to Oxford. When in 1630 he proposed to abolish the Calvinistic discipline in Guernsey, Lord Danby objected that there were no Anglican clergy coming on to succeed the aged ministers

at their death. But in July, 1632, there escheated to the Crown, through lack of certain heirs, properties in London and in Buckinghamshire of that Sir Miles Hobart, M.P. for Marlow,* who was imprisoned by the Commons for locking the door of the House during the great debate of March 2, 1629, viz., seven houses and two gardens in Lad Lane in the Old Jewry, rented at £45 10s., and an estate at Medmenham. At Archbishop Laud's suggestion, the King, on June 27, 1636, founded with this windfall a Fellowship in each of the three Colleges above mentioned, the Fellows to return to the Islands "within convenient tyme, upon fitt Promociions to them offered there." The King nominated the first Fellows on his foundation; afterwards the Dean and Jurats of either Island were to nominate in turn. The property has recently been sold for a large sum, and King Charles's foundation is likely to be considerably extended.

SILVER TASSELS.

There still lingers a faint tradition that Pembroke men—or more probably the King Charles I. Fellows, and after 1857 the Scholars on that foundation—have the right, in memory of this sovereign, to wear silver tassels on their caps. The Rev. *Edward Luce*, Rector of St. Saviour's, Jersey (Scholar 1870–74), writes to me that this tradition was current in his time. He says: "One or two of my contemporaries—*e.g.*, *Edward Arthur Hansell*, one of the Scholars [1868–73], always wore the tassel."

* Parliament voted £500 for a monument to him there in 1647. Sir Miles was killed by the overturning of his coach, June 29, 1632.

GIFT OF THE ADVOWSON OF ST. ALDATE'S.

In this same year (1636) King Charles, anxious to divest the Crown of property taken from the Church by Henry VIII., and desiring to strengthen further the newly founded College, bestowed upon it—again, probably, at the suggestion of the Primate, its Visitor—the *advowson of St. Aldate's*, formerly shared between St. Frideswyde's Priory and Abingdon Abbey. A few years later, when the Civil War had begun, we find as Rector Henry Hickman, the author of *Apologia pro Ministris in Anglia (vulgo) Nonconformistis*. In 1858 the benefice was sold to the Simeon Trustees by an eminent but unsentimental Channel Islander, Bishop Jeune. The half-length portrait of King Charles I., now in the Hall, used to hang in the room over the south aisle of St. Aldate's, and is described by Pointer in his *Oxoniensis Academia* as "a very fine Picture of the Royal Martyr." *Charles Gatacre*, one of the intellectual band in whose converse Lord Falkland found delight at Great Tew, took M.A. from Pembroke in 1636.

KING CHARLES AT OXFORD.

Dr. Clayton was one of Laud's delegates for reforming the University in 1633. The war broke out in 1642, and Clayton took an active part in the supervision of the "training of the scholars in martial discipline." The King entered Oxford October 29, 1642. He made a first, and then a second, request to the Colleges for the loan of their silver. In the Tanner MSS. only twelve are named as complying, but Wood says ex-

pressly, "All sent, except New Inn." Besides one interesting sixteenth-century piece, lately presented, Pembroke has no plate dated earlier than 1655; but the College certainly had the "great piece of Plate" given to it by the Earl of Pembroke. One of the Statutes speaks of a chest in which were to be kept gold or silver cups of the rarer sort, jewels, or any other costly gifts. Pembroke, no doubt, sent to the mint at New Inn Hall any silver it had. On the other hand, I must confess there is a suspicious entry in the Bursar's accounts of 1655—"Mending the colledg plate, 8s. 0d." The King's letter to the College has been carefully preserved. It runs thus:

THE KING'S LETTER.

"CHARLES R. Trusty and wel beloved we greete you well. We are soe well satisfyed with your readyness and Affection to Our Service that We cannot doubt but you will take all occasions to expresse the same. And as We are ready to sell or engage any of Our Land so Wee have melted down Our Plate for the payment of Our Army raysed for Our defense and the preservacon of the Kingdom. And having received severall quantities of Plate from diverse of Our loving Subjts, We have removed Our mint hither to Our City of Oxford for the coyning thereof. And We doe hereby desire you that you will lend unto Us all such Plate of what kinde soever w^{ch} belongs to your Colledge promising to see the same justly repayed unto you after the rate of 5s. the ounce for white and 5s. 6d. for guilt Plate as soon as God shall enable us, for assure yourselves We shall never lett Persons of whom we have soe great a Care to suffer for their Affection to Us but shall take speciall Order for the repaym^t of what you have

already lent to Us according to Our promise, and allsoe of this you now lend in Plate, well knowing it to be the Goods of your Colledge that you ought not to alien, though noe man will doubt but in such a Case you may lawfully lend to assist your King in such visible necessity. And Wee have entrusted our trusty and wel-beloved S^r William Parkhurst K^{nt} and Thomas Busbell Esq. Officers of Our Mint or either of them to receive the said Plate from you, who upon weighing thereof shall give you a Receipt under their or one of their hands for the same. And We assure Ourselfe of your very great willingnesse to gratify Us herein since besides the more publique consideracons you cannot but knowe how much yourselves are concerned in Our sufferings. And we shall ever remember this particular service to your Advantage. Given at Our Court at Oxford this 6th day of January 1642 [1643]. To Our trusty and welloved the Principall and Fellowes of Pembroke Colledge in Our University of Oxford."

In June, 1643, the members of the College subscribed what they could in money. Early next year the city began to prepare for a siege, and Pembroke was called upon to supply sixty persons to work at the fortifications. In a return of all inhabitants it was shown to contain seventy-nine men, twenty-three women, and five children. These last were not Dr. Clayton's, whose three sons and four daughters were all grown up. When the King entered Oxford his Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas, took up his lodging in the College, which was, therefore, for a time, if I may so express it, the centre of the Government of England. His second son, also Sir Edward Nicholas, married Dr. Clayton's grand-daughter Bridget, daughter of Sir Thomas

Clayton. Did they become first acquainted at this time?

PARLIAMENTARY VISITORS.

But England was fast slipping out of the King's governance. On St. John's Day 1646, the city of Oxford was surrendered to the Parliamentary troops and their chaplains. A few days later, in contravention of the articles of capitulation, the Parliamentary Committee, presided over by Francis Rous, issued from the Painted Chamber an edict that no person be admitted into any University office; for a Visitation was intended. To prepare the way for the Visitors, six (originally seven) Ministers were sent down to pray and preach the gownsmen into submission, of whose "antick behaviours, squeaking voices, puling tones, wry mouths, squint eyes, and scru'd faces" Wood gives an amusingly malicious description, as well as of their discomfiture by blasphemous fanatics from the ranks. Their names were "Cornish and Langley, two fooles; Reynolds and Harrys, two knaves; Cheynell and rabbi Wilkinson, two madmen." The second of these, *Henry Langley*, the son of an Abingdon shoemaker, was shortly to be put into the Mastership of Pembroke College; for, on July 10, 1647, Dr. Thomas Clayton died, and was buried in St. Aldate's, near two of his daughters. And then the edict of the Lords and Commons had to be complied with or defied.

CHAPTER X

DR. HENRY LANGLEY, *de facto* MASTER,
1647-1660

ELECTION OF MASTER. CONFLICT WITH THE VISITORS.

THE Fellows of Pembroke resolved on defiance, and, in spite of "several inhibitions from the Parliament," proceeded in haste, on July 13, to elect as Master Henry Wightwicke, B.D., one of the original Fellows. Then ensued an interesting struggle. Under Thursday, August 26, 1647, is an entry in the Journals of the House of Lords :

"Whereas *Thomas Clayton*, doctor of Physic, and Master of *Pembrook* Colledge, *Oxon*, is lately deceased ; and whereas the said College is not yet visited, according to an Ordinance of Parliament, whereby the Fellows are not yet so constituted as that it is fit for them to execute such a Trust as to make Choice of a new Master ; and whereas we have perfect Assurance of the Sufficiency, Abilities, and good Affection to the Parliament, that are well known to be in M^r *Henry Langley* of that College, and One of the Seven Preaching Ministers sent by the Parliament to that University, whereby he is rendered very fit for the Government of that College : It is therefore ORDERED and Ordained, by the Lords and Commons in this present

Parliament assembled, That the said M^r *Henry Langley* be Master, and that the said M^r *Henry Langley* from the Day of the Date of these Presents is Master of *Pembroke Colledge* in *Oxford*, in the room of the late D^r *Clayton* deceased ; and that he is therefore to enjoy all Salaries, Lodgings, Benefits and Emoluments, of what Sort or Nature soever, that do or ought to accrue thereby, to all Intents and Purposes, in as full and ample Manner as the said D^r *Clayton* did or ought to have enjoyed the same, by virtue of the said Place ; and all Fellows, Scholars Commoners, and all Manner of Students, Officers, and Servants belonging to the said College, are to give full Obedience and Conformity hereto, as they, or any of them, will answer their neglect to the Parliament."

HENRY WIGHTWICKE DISLODGED.

Wightwicke, however, held his own for six weeks. When at the beginning of October the Visitors arrived, one of the first matters to which they turned their attention was the contested Mastership. Appearing before them on the 7th, Wightwicke handed in the following paper :

"I do here appear according to Summons ; I have seen your Commission and examined it. I find his Majesties name in it, the date of the year of his Reign, and a great Seal annexed unto it ; but whether this Commission were granted and issued by his Majesties royal assent I desire to know : and I desire leave to repair to his Majestie to that end, and rather because if it were not granted and issued with his Majesties knowledge and assent I cannot with a safe conscience submit to it, nor without breach of oath

made to my Sovereign, and breach of oaths made to the University, and breach of oaths made to my College.

“Et sic habetis animi mei sententiam

“HENRY WIGHTWICKE.”

On the morrow there was fastened up in the College Hall an order commanding all the Members to appear there the next morning between 7 and 8 o'clock. At the time named one of the Visitors, William (“Eternity”) Tipping, attended by a servant, read and afterwards affixed to the door an instrument declaring that “Mr. Whitwicke is no Maister of the Colledge, and that Mr. Langley is rightly constituted and appointed Maister.” Walker, in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, remarks that Wightwicke thus “won that Honour of being the first Person that dropp'd in this Noble Conflict.”

THE COLLEGE SUMMONED TO SUBMIT. EXPULSIONS.

The following May the Visitors summoned all members of the University to give in a formal submission, by their Houses. On the 5th, eighteen members of Pembroke submitted. That day a Bachelor Scholar, *Francis Brickenden*—son of a Treasurer of one of the Inns of Court and kinsman of Dr. Colwell Brickenden, Master 1710–14—was suspended “for behaving himself contemptuously towards the Vice-gerent of the said colledge (probably *Samuel Bruen*, Proctor 1655, a stout parliamentarian), and on May 15 was expelled. Four more submissions, it seems, were made. One was that of the afterwards noted civilian and writer *Sir Peter*

Pett, an original Fellow of the Royal Society, Advocate-General for Ireland and a member of the Irish Parliament. Another submitter was *George Wightwicke*—there seem to have been five of this name in residence—who was at once made B.D. by order of the Visitors, “*ex regis gratia*.” One Fellow, *John Bowles*, benefited in Oxford, gave the Visitors a great deal of trouble. He was expelled from Oxford, but after a time slipped back to his parochial duties, and had to be again evicted. July saw the expulsion of four other Fellows, eight Scholars, the butler, the cook, and another servant. Fourteen other persons were placed in the vacant Fellowships and Scholarships, among them several bachelors imported from Cambridge. In October 1648, *Henry Wightwicke* the younger submitted, and was restored to his Fellowship, but “Mr. Henry Whitwick, sen.,” continued “his high contempt.” The butler mentioned above, *William Collier*, a noted character, yeoman bedell of Law, and called by the cavaliers “honest Will Collier,” managed, in 1650, though he was supposed to have been expelled the town, to promote a plot to seize the garrison, Visitors and all. But he and his fellow conspirators were accustomed to “drink and be very merry,” and Collier presently found himself a prisoner in a room under New College Hall. In order to make him reveal the names of his associates, he was tortured by a flame being placed between his tied hands; but, making a dash for freedom, he scrambled through a window and over the city wall a few yards away, “and so saved the hangman a labour,” dying finally in his bed, in Beef Hall Lane, in 1692.

RELIGIOUS CHANGES.

In 1648 the Directory was ordered to be substituted for the Common Prayer Book in all College chapels. From April 18, 1651, the Saturday exercises and themes directed by the Pembroke Statutes were abrogated in order that all might prepare themselves for the Lord's Day. In that year Docklington's aisle in St. Aldate's, with its painted windows and the like, shared, doubtless, the fate of so many other sacred buildings. In 1653 a final clearance was made of all College officers who could not bring a certificate of godliness, and the Head of each House was required to render an accompt what preaching or divinity exercises take place therein. A little later the Master and Fellows of Pembroke certified the Visitors that they in their times upheld preaching every Lord's Day, and it was ordered that all Masters of Arts do join with them. A Gentleman-Commoner, *George Trosse*, who entered August 6, 1658, aged twenty-seven, and whose scarce Autobiography is one of the most curious books of that time, tells us :

"Dr *Langley* was a person greatly favouring and encouraging such as liv'd in the *Fear of GOD*. He frequently administer'd the Lord's-Supper to a select Number of his *Collegiates*, among whom I was One. I also receiv'd it from Mr *Hickman* [our stated Preacher, on *Lord's Days*, at *St. Olive's*, just by our *College*, on whose *Ministry* I constantly waited]. In our *College-Hall*, every *Lord's Day* in the Evening before Supper, we had a *Repetition of Sermons*, and *solemn Prayer*, by the *Vice-President*, or some one or other of the *Fellows*. By which means the *College* was kept in very good order on *that Day*. Beside which,

after Supper, all Collegiate Duties having been dispatch'd, Three or Four hopeful *religious* Lads came to my Chamber, and with them I was wont to *repeat* and *pray*."

Trosse, a kinsman of the Earl of Bath, had been rescued from a dissolute career, plucked as out of the fire, by a providential madness. When his conflicts with the powers of wickedness passed, after months of raging delirium, he craved, in horror of the past, for new surroundings, and having a religious comrade at Pembroke was sent thither, where he remained in close application to his books for seven years, taking only one month's vacation in all that time. As a gentleman he had a chamber and study entirely to himself. The blind College tutor Cheseman came to him daily there. In his closet Trosse still, like Whitefield, was haunted by "voices and visible spectrums," and trembled lest Satan should appear and drag him back to the path of Hell. But his going to Pembroke he calls "a blessed and successful Enterprise, and my stay there the most beneficial and happy." A few months junior to Trosse at the College was *William Sclater*, the learned and pious nonjuring divine, whose elaborate reply to Lord Chancellor King's *Inquiry into the Constitution, &c., of the Primitive Church* is said to have convinced the candid author of the unscripturalness of Congregationalism.

RESTORATION.

On June 4, 1660, within a week of the King's return, it was ordered that the Chancellors of both Universities should take care that the Colleges be governed according to their respective Statutes, and that all persons who

had been illegally put out of their Headships, Fellowships, or other offices be restored. Langley seems to have been displaced on August 3. On August 15, however, his name appears in the Bursar's accounts as paying the lecturers their stipends. In a pamphlet by Henry Jessey, giving instances of judgments that had visited members of the University and others who had re-introduced the Prayer Book, he instances the sudden death of "a Scholar of Pembroke College, who said he came purposely to Town to see Dr. Langley outed, and then he would give a plate to the College." Wood affirms that the scholar was *William Grosvenour*, grandson of Sir Richard Grosvenour of Cheshire, that he died after ten days' illness, and that there was no evidence that he had said anything of the kind. The date of his death was July 28, 1660.

LANGLEY REMOVED.

There was clearly some delay in outing Langley. He, retiring to his house at Tubney "in Bagley Wood," there took "sojourners (fanaticks' sons), taught them logic and philosophy, and admitted them to degrees." He also "oftentimes preached in Conventicles at Abendon." "A judicious solid Divine," says Calamy, "not valu'd in the University according to his Worth." Metford, on the other hand, describes his discourses as "tedious even when shortest," and says that his affected sighings made the hearers smile. After the Declaration of Toleration in 1671 he returned to Oxford, and was "appointed by the principal Heads of the Brethren to carry on the work of preaching within the City." Dying in September 1679, Henry Langley

was buried in St. Helen's Church in his native town. Whatever his subsequent opinions about surplices and Church music, he had sung in the choir of Magdalen Chapel from his sixteenth to his eighteenth year, when he entered Pembroke (November 6, 1629) as an Abingdon Scholar. B.A. 1632, M.A. 1635, Fellow 1635, Carfax lecturer, 1640, B.D. 1648, D.D. 1649. In 1648 the Parliament made him Rector of St. Mary's, Newington, but he must have been non-resident.

TUTORS UNDER LANGLEY.

One of the Pembroke tutors under Langley was, as has been mentioned, *Thomas Cheseman*, blind from infancy, but "a good Scholar and useful Preacher." M.A. 1656. After the Restoration he preached with impunity in London churches, but, starting a conventicle in his native East Ilsley, was imprisoned for fifteen weeks. Among his pupils at Pembroke was *Timothy Hall* (B.A. 1658), an ex-Puritan, made Bishop of Oxford in 1688 for reading the Declaration of Indulgence in his church at Hackney. He lived in pitiable isolation for some months in his palace, then took the oaths to William and Mary, and died the next year in a garret at Homerton.

Another tutor was *Edmund Hall* (Fellow, 1647), one of whose pupils was his nephew, Bishop John Hall, afterwards Master. Edmund Hall had taken the Covenant and worn a sword in the parliamentary army, but after the King's death he wrote three treatises proving Cromwell to be Antichrist,* and suffered a twelve-

* The Nonconformist Trosse, mentioned above, also held that Oliver had "horribly sinn'd against the Fifth Command."

months' imprisonment. When Dr. Lazarus Seamon affirmed that a usurper ought to be obeyed, he wrote a work called *Lazarus's soares lick'd*. Wood says: "His Sermons preached before the University of *Oxon* had in them many odd, light, and whimsical passages, altogether unbecoming the gravity of the Pulpit: And his gestures being very antick and whimmical did usually excite somewhat of laughter." Sir Edmund Bray made Hall his chaplain, and presented him in 1680 to Great Risington, where he is buried.

CAVALIERS AND PURITANS.

The Wood MSS. contain a paper giving a catalogue of fifty members of the College, including the cook and the manciple, who held commissions in the royalist army. He does not mention *Sir Thomas Littleton*, knight of the shire and colonel of the Worcestershire horse and foot, who was captured and suffered imprisonment in the Tower of London. Trials for high treason after the Restoration were undergone by *Thomas Rosewell* (matr. 1650), in whose favour Charles II. intervened, and who lies buried at Bunhill Fields, and by *William Reeves*, an Abingdon Nonconformist, who also was acquitted.

COMMONWEALTH ACCOUNTS.

The Bursar's accounts during the Commonwealth period mention a number of small payments made for orders from the Visitors and requisitions by them—*e.g.*, "for an order of the Visitors against horses and long haire," 2s. 6d.; "y^e proportion of Pem Coll Layd by

y^e delegatie of the universitie for Anastasius Comenius," 8s.; "proportion for a horse till they sent in a horse," 12s. 11d.; "paid to Paul Isaiah a converted Jew sent down by his Highnesse to y^e University five sh. w^{ch} was p^{em}b coll proportion of 20 l. given by y^e university"; "for a fore-pectorall, a payre of holsters and a Bridle for John Brooks when hee did service in y^e University troope for p^{em}b," 4s. 6d.; paid to "deputy Fleetwood Trumpeter for sounding to y^e colledg. 5s. 0d."; "five sh. y^e P^{em}b Coll proportion of twenty pounds w^{ch} y^e university at a Delegacy did agree to give to Pet Samu^{el} a converted Jew, Balsamides a distressed Græcian and Jacq Fourre a converted Catholiq"; and the like.

ROUS BENEFACTION.

I must here mention a bequest left in 1658 by that typical Roundhead, of whom mention has already been more than once made, *Francis Rous*, namely, £60 per annum to support for seven years *three poor divinity students*, to be chosen from his own kindred,* or, failing these, from Eton School. Rous was thrust into the rich provosty of Eton College by parliamentary ordinance in 1643. He went over, however, from the Presbyterians to the Independents, and in 1653 the Protector, after encouraging the members "with divers scriptures," placed him in the Speaker's chair of the Little (Barebones) Parliament, though Clarendon says he was "of a very mean understanding" and though he was "usually

* Descendants of his sister Dorothy Upton are mentioned. Her husband traced to Edward I. through the Courtenays and Bouchiers.

stiled by the Loyal Party " (says Wood) " the *old illiterate Jew of Eaton*." Rous in return proposed that Cromwell should be King of England, and in 1657 he accepted from Cromwell a seat in the House of Lords and other offices. In that year he took part in framing an abortive scheme for a State Church based on the Congregational plan. "Thoroughly engaged in the guilt of the times" is Clarendon's verdict on his career. Doubtless his worst offence was a translation of "the Psalmes of David into English Meeter," which the House of Commons in 1647 imposed on the English nation as their only legal psalmody, the use of Cranmer's exquisite Psalter becoming a punishable offence together with the rest of the Common Prayer.* Chalmers says that Rous' speeches in Parliament were "rude, vulgar, and enthusiastic." Wood, however, acknowledges that he was "a man of parts," and Clarendon that he enjoyed an opinion of some knowledge in the Latin and Greek tongues.† The picture in the College Hall of Rous in Puritan hat and cloak—the portrait at Eton exhibits him in his Speaker's robes—was given by a descendant, *Peter Creed* (Rous exhibitor, 1723), a Devonian. Of several near relatives at Broadgates and Pembroke, *William Rous* (matr. 1612) was Member for Truro, and *Anthony Nicoll* (matr. 1694) sat for Tregony, both of which Rous himself represented, as well as the counties of Devon and

* But I have dipped into Rous' prose writings, especially his *Academia Coelestis*, with some edification. Perhaps the pithy and melodious prose of that age conquered even the dullest writer.

† His name was anagrammatised into "Rise, car of Sun." "Rise," sang Billingsley, in *Infancy of the World*, 1658, "Convey thy purer light Into our souls; So shall they know no night."

Cornwall. Francis Rous graduated at Leyden in 1599. His rare poem, written while a young man in imitation of Spenser, *Thule or Virtue's History* (1598), was reprinted in *fac simile* for the Spenser Society in 1878. His piety was "intensely subjective and mystical."

CHAPTER XI

DR. HENRY WIGHTWICKE, MASTER,
1660-1664

WIGHTWICKE'S CAREER.

HENRY WIGHTWICKE was restored without further election to the Mastership in 1660. He held office between two extreme Puritans, but hardly exhibited the spirit of learning and orthodoxy in that golden age of their alliance in a bright light. He was born in 1590, probably at Tamworth, and was a rather distant kinsman of the co-Founder. When aged fifteen he entered Balliol, sent there perhaps, by Richard Wightwicke, February 14, 1604. M.A. 1613. In 1613, having then migrated to Gloucester Hall, he headed a revolt of the Regent Masters against the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors. "The chief and only matter that excited them to it was their sitting like boys bareheaded in the Convocation House, at the usual assemblies there, which was not, as 'twas thought, so fit that the Professors of the Faculty of Arts (on which the University was founded) should do it." Wightwicke quoted some Statute enabling them to be covered, and pointed to a representation of this in the west window of St. Mary's. Having clapt on his own cap and induced others to do the

same, he set on foot a petition to the Chancellor, Lord Ellesmere. For this action he was convented before the Vice-Chancellor on the charge of endeavouring to subvert the honour and government of the University, and for breach of his oath to maintain the rights, customs and privileges of the University, and banished, his supporters all deserting him. At length his friends, "after his peevish and rash humour had been much courted to it," persuaded him to allow a petition—signed by, among others, Tesdale's friends, Abbot, Bishop of London, and Sir John Bennet—to be sent to the Chancellor praying for his restoration. The Chancellor wrote to Dr. Singleton that

"the affront and offence committed by Whittwicke in the Congregation House by his late insolent carriage there was verie great and notorious, and that offence afterwards seconded and redoubled by another, as ill or worse than the former, in his seditious practizing and procuring a multitude of handes, thereby thinking to justifie and maintain his former errors and his proud and insolent disobedience and contempt. I hold yt therefore very requisite that his submission and recognition, both of the one fault and of the other, should be as publique and as humble as possible with conveniencye may bee."

Accordingly, on June 25, 1614, Wightwicke knelt before the University in the midst of the chancel of St. Mary's, and acknowledged himself the grievous and sole offender. One of the crimes mentioned in his confession is the having appealed from the sentence of Mr. Vice-Chancellor to the venerable House of Congregation, "*quod nec licitum nec honestum in causa per-*

turbationis pacis facile concedo." He was thereupon restored; Wood says he could never be convinced, when he became Master of Pembroke six-and-forty years later, that he made any submission at all, but would boast to the boyish intimates with whom he delighted to surround himself that he had carried the business against the whole University. After all there was some colour for the boast, for in 1620 the Regent Masters renewed their claim to sit covered, and the Earl of Pembroke advised Convocation to allow it on the ground that the Masters sat in a judicial capacity, and should not therefore be bareheaded.

RESTORED TO THE MASTERSHIP.

Henry Wightwicke, we have seen, was one of the Charter Fellows; B.D. 1626. What became of him after his deprivation by the parliamentary Visitors, I am unable to say. But adversity was an ill instructor to him as to many other exiles, "truants from their books." Recovered power called for tact and patience, of which he had none. George Trosse, the converted debauchee referred to on a previous page, afterwards "pastor of a considerable Congregation in *Exon*," where he suffered a six months' imprisonment, gives the following account of Wightwicke:

"He seem'd then to have nothing of *Learning* or *Civility*, whatever he had when he was in the *College*. If he had *any Learning* before, it look'd as if he had left *all* behind him, or had dropped it in his *Careers*, for he was fam'd for a great *Racer*.

"One Morning, if I mistake not, it was on the *Lord's*

Day, our Chaplain (a pious and gracious Person, who had an excellent Gift of Prayer) having pray'd in a very affecting Way, and that largely, with the most proper Language and Heavenly Matter, and with more than ordinary Elevation of Soul; this new Master, then in the Chappell, as soon as the other had concluded his Prayer, ranted, and unworthily revild him, taxing him with Pride and Impudence, & that he thought his own tautological Prayers and crude Notions better than the Common-Prayer. Thus he treated him with a great deal of Passion and Virulency of Language before all the Scholars present. At which I was astonish'd, and trembl'd; because I apprehended all those Reproaches to have been cast upon the Spirit of Prayer. . . .

"This Chaplain thus unhandsomely treated, and his pious Prayers thus basely derided, and he discharg'd from his Office, the Old Gentleman, but new Master, undertook the Chaplain's Place, brought up the Common-Prayer-Book into the Desk, and there read it: The Novelty whereof was enough to startle us, and I am sure it did me: And griev'd I was to see a Prayer read, as a School-Boy reads his Lesson, instead of the Pouring out of such warm Prayers as we had been accustom'd to. But that which did more especially offend us, was his irreverent manner of Reading it; which was with incredible Swiftness and confus'd Rapidity. So that I never heard it read so ill in all my Time, as far as I can remember. A Man would have been tempted to think, that he had been running a Race, rather than presenting of a Prayer to GOD in the Chappel."

DEPOSITION.

The Master can hardly be blamed for insisting on the use of the Prayer-Book, nor can any violence of language used by him surpass the phrases directed by Trosse's

friends against those "old popish dreggs." Trosse himself ascribed the worship of the Quakers to "impulses from the Impure Spirit." Very few were, in that age of political and religious upheaval, restrained from gross licence of invective against opponents. But Wightwicke seems to have made an unedifying Master. During the long years of his absence from Oxford he "forgot," Wood remarks, "an Universitie life and the decorum belonging to a governour." Both his person and preaching excited mirth. A few months after his restoration to the Mastership he fainted in the pulpit of St. Mary's while delivering a Twelfth-night sermon, which circumstance Wood was afraid "the phanaticks" would publish among special judgments from God on royalists, and explains that the old man had had neither food nor sleep for many hours. On St. Thomas's Day, 1664, Wightwicke was deposed from the Mastership by an order from the Chancellor, the Earl of Clarendon, on the ground, Wood informs us, of "severall misdemeanours." No doubt the careful procedure directed by the College Statutes had been followed. These provide that "if the Father of the Family himself turn out scandalous in his life, falling into notorious and grievous offences, perjury, adultery, fornication, or the like grievous crime, if he be extraordinarily neglectful in the government of the College, a prodigal and profuse waster of the College goods, a receiver of bribes for the purpose of corrupting elections of Fellows and Scholars, or by some other notorious crime, which we do not name because we hardly suspect it, prove himself utterly unworthy of this honourable office of Governor," in that case the Vice-gerent shall have power to call together

the Fellows and lay the charges before them, and if the major part, which must include the Vice-gerent, one Bursar and one Dean, deem them proved, those three officers are to approach the Master in the name of the whole society, and admonish him to offer his resignation within three days. If he refuse, the Vice-gerent, Bursar, and Dean are in writing to signify what has been done to the Vice-Chancellor, the Provost of Queen's and the President of Corpus Christi, and if they or two of them (including the Vice-Chancellor) decide that there is just cause of expulsion, they are to notify their decision to the Visitor, who is himself to weigh the matter and take final proceedings. Unless Wightwicke was treated with the grossest injustice, there must have been grave cause for the extreme course taken with him. On the other hand, Anthony Wood, who in a plain-spoken generation always calls a spade a spade unless he can find some still more direct method of describing it, and who spares Wightwicke no words of savage scorn, tells us nothing worse of him than that he was "testy, peevish and silly," and that he would sit of a morning with pipe and mug in the company of young Bachelors and Masters of Arts. His misdemeanours can hardly have been of the gravest complexion, seeing that he was instituted soon afterwards to the parsonage of Kingerby, Lincolnshire.

CASE OF DR. HENRY WYATT.

Wightwicke had given at least one of the Fellows occasion for a bitter grudge. The Statutes, as we have seen, imposed a strictly clerical character on the College, while, on the other hand, Dr. Clayton's influence had been in the direction of medical studies. *Henry Wyatt*,

a Foundation Fellow, created Doctor in Physick at the Restoration as one who had suffered both at home and abroad for the royal cause, managed in Dr. Langley's time to hang on somehow to his place, though "continually persecuted and threatened expulsion for adhering to the King." At the Restoration he endeavoured still to evade the obligation to seek Holy Orders, on the ground that until 1660 there was no episcopal and lawful ordination to be had, and that now that it could be had he was of more than four years' standing from magistration, and so could not fulfil the Statute. The new Master could not be expected to accept this ingenious reasoning, and pronounced Dr. Wyatt Non-Socius, but without previous consultation with the Fellows or application to the Visitor. On April 9, 1661, the Commissioners appointed by the Crown to regulate University matters, after a full debate, reinstated Wyatt, giving him till Michaelmas to consider whether he would be ordained or not. Wightwicke, who had defied the parliamentary Visitors, snapped his fingers at the jurisdiction of those who came with the authority of the King. Indeed, if James II. acted arbitrarily in his proceedings at Magdalen, it is not easy to defend the suspension of College Statutes by the Commissioners of Charles II. On the other hand, the Pembroke Constitution gave the Master no power to deprive a Fellow without the concurrence of his Society, and without permission of appeal to the Visitor. Wightwicke, however, proceeded to expel Dr. Wyatt and to fill up his Fellowship. The aggrieved physician, shortly before Michaelmas, appealed to the Earl of Clarendon, alleging also against the Master "many

other rash and imprudent acts against the consent of all the Fellows, to the great prejudice and almost ruine of the whole Society." The Chancellor was then leaving London, and referred the matter to the Vice-Chancellor. The Hebdomadal Board after consideration revoked the expulsion, and gave Wyatt further time for taking Orders. He afterwards applied for a still longer extension of time, pleading that, if a Fellow be "employed in any publique service either in y^e Church or State," the Statute allows a dispensation, and that he could obtain the King's hand that this was so in his case. A man could not take Orders while travelling in foreign lands. The Statute, however, merely says that such travel beyond the realm shall not carry with it the loss of salary if undertaken by a Fellow with the consent of the Master and the more part of the Fellows of his own foundation. Whether Wyatt finally lost his place does not appear. While travelling in the north of Africa, as physician to the Earl of Teviot, he fell into the hands of the Moors, on May 3, 1664, and was by them killed. He cannot, therefore, have prosecuted his resentment against the Master to the end. But, doubtless, Wightwicke's high-handed conduct had left him friendless in the College and incensed the Visitor. His smoking and bibbing and other indecorums were then a handle for his ruin. He died at Kingerby Rectory in June 1671, aged eighty. The Buttery day-books begin from his Mastership, viz., Michaelmas 1663.

CHAPTER XII

MASTERSHIP OF BISHOP HALL, 1664-1710

EARLIER CAREER.

AFTER Wightwicke's deposition the Fellows reverted to the Langleian *régime* by electing, on December 31, 1664, *John Hall*, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, a divine for whom the royalist writers can find no words too contemptuous. Hall was born at Bromsgrove Vicarage in 1633, in his eleventh year went to Merchant Taylors', and in 1648, a few months before the tragic deed at Whitehall, entered Wadham College. His calvinistic bent was already manifest, for on April 22, 1650, the Visitors put him into a Scholar's place at Pembroke. B.A. 1651, Fellow and M.A. 1653. He appears to have received presbyterian ordination in 1655. In the College he held the office of lecturer in Greek, receiving 40*s.* a year, and in philosophy, for which his stipend was 55*s.* At the Restoration (he must have accepted re-ordination) the King, to conciliate Puritan feeling, made him one of his chaplains, and in 1676 he was chosen by the clergy—a proof of widespread popularity—Margaret Professor of Divinity. B.D. 1666, D.D. 1669. Hall quarrelled with Anthony Wood, who tells us that, though a malapert presbyterian, he took every

occasion to air his loyalty. Indeed, he was appointed to preach James II.'s Coronation sermon on St. George's Day at St. Mary's, but gave offence by bidding his hearers to pray that God would open the King's eyes. He had just been chosen by the Oxfordshire clergy to represent them in the new Convocation.

PUT FORWARD FOR THE PRIMACY.

In 1688, however, Hall naturally hoisted the Whig colours, and in 1691 was put into the Bishoprick of Bristol, Burnet preaching the consecration sermon. At Tillotson's death in 1694, Hall was the low-churchmen's candidate for the Primacy, and William favoured the choice, but Tenison was finally nominated. Though entirely a man of the old stamp of Puritanism, and hardly a latter-day Whig, Hall must have struck the world as a man of some power. Hearne himself, while describing the Bishop as "a thorough-pac'd Calvinist, a defender of the Republican Doctrines, an admirer of whining, cringing Parasites, and a strenuous Persecutor of truly honest Men," with much more to the same effect, adds that he "was a learn'd divine, a good preacher, and his lectures while Professor were look'd upon by the best Judges as excellent in their kind." Evelyn praises one of his sermons. Noble says that Hall was "a scholar and a pious divine, but known more in than out of Oxford." As Margaret Professor the Bishop had a stall in Worcester Cathedral. If "the last of the Puritan Bishops," he was a pioneer of the eighteenth-century school of political pluralist prelates in absentia. He was for three-and-forty years rector of St. Aldate's, and bequeathed money at his death to buy a parsonage-

house for that parish, besides providing for the poor. A handsome edifice was built by him, after his elevation to the episcopate, for an Oxford residence for himself and future Masters.

FINISHES THE QUADANGLE.

This house, a Palladian many gabled edifice, took the place of the old Elizabethan Lodgings, and completed the projected buildings of the College. Four or five years after Dr. Hall's accession to the Mastership he took in hand the unfinished Quadrangle, and in 1670 the east side was finished. In 1673 the old mediæval tenements of Broadgates Hall along the south side of the churchyard—they may be seen in the large map, made a century earlier by Ralph Agas, hanging in the Bodleian—were partly demolished, and a portion of the north front built on their site.

GATEWAY TOWER (LOGGAN'S PRINT).

And now arises a curious point, for in 1675 David Loggan published his engraving of Pembroke College (see *Frontispiece*) showing a completed Quadrangle, exactly—down to the position of the chimneys—as it was afterwards carried out, but exhibiting a gateway tower, by no means like the subsequent design, in the *middle* of the frontage. Beyond question this tower never existed, though it is said that during the alterations of 1830 its foundations were laid bare. One can conjecture that the work stopped for lack of funds at this point in 1673, that the architect wished to build a tower in the middle, with an entrance gateway there, and to widen the roadway—then a narrow lane—before

the College; but that when, seventeen or eighteen years afterwards, about the time of the Master's elevation to the episcopate, further contributions were collected, it was thought best to carry on the front—finished by Michaelmas 1691—instead of spending the money on a tower. This was added in 1694 at the extreme west corner, the ancient entrance, fronting the passage from Penny-farthing Street, being retained. At that corner a number of skeletons were found at a great depth, many with their feet to the south—disturbed, probably, a second time. Who knows how old our graveyards are?—graveyards possibly before they were churchyards, and extending beyond their present limits.

MASTER'S LODGINGS BUILT.

The following year the Master's House was erected, in emulation, perhaps, of the President of Corpus Christi's new Lodgings. The total expense from 1670 onwards was between two and three thousand pounds, Bishop Hall contributing most of the cost of the *Hospitium Magistri*, and probably a part of the earlier expenditure. The names of a number of Gentlemen-Commoners and other donors are preserved, and the detailed accounts of the building. When all was finished, Michael Burghers was paid £12 3s. for making (A.D. 1700) his beautiful copper-plate of the College, including Docklington's aisle and the Library over it. It is dedicated to Bishop Hall, whose arms it exhibits, as "*Collegii Pembrochiani Magistro et Instauratori.*"

NEW LIBRARY ERECTED FOR BISHOP HALL'S BOOKS.

That Library was disused by the College from 1710, and an ugly erection—now the Dean's lecture-room—built over the Hall to receive a number of volumes bequeathed by the late Master, as well as the books which the College already possessed. This addition is ignored in the prints of Williams (1733) and of Vertue (1744). The chief interest of this room is in the thought of Johnson, whether as undergraduate or as Dr. Adams' guest, moving round its walls with bleared vision to find *Lobo* or some other volume, or reading here for hours at a time. As the louver of the Dining-hall beneath was destroyed in 1710, I am at a loss to know how that refectory was warmed before the days of modern hot-water pipes. The Whigs, Johnson explained to Warton in this room, removed the fireplaces from the middle to the side of the College dining-halls; but they did not do so here, though Johnson must have known whether he and his fellows shivered through their meals. The ceremony of "going round the fire" by the Pembroke freshmen on the Fifth of November was kept up in his time.

LORD OSSULSTON.

Loggan's print of Pembroke is dedicated to a Gentleman-Commoner of the College, whom he describes as "*Collegii Patrono et Benefactori*," *Sir John Bennet*, Knight of the Bath, afterwards *Lord Ossulston*. He and his brother, the more famous Earl of Arlington, were great-grandsons of Thomas Tesdale's half-sister Elizabeth, and grandsons of Sir John Bennet, Tesdale's

trustee.* Lord Ossulston, born at Arlington in 1618, entered Pembroke in 1635, distinguished himself during the wars as a cavalier, and after the Restoration was made Captain of the Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners, representing Wallingford, the native place of the Bennets, in Parliament.

BENEFACTIONS.

A handsome donation in 1670, added to a gift in the previous year of £100 from *Mr. James Hoare*, junior, "*Monetae cudendae Praepositus sive Contrarotulator*," a Fellow-Commoner, M.P. for Bridgewater, gave a fresh start to the building of the College Quadrangle, and in 1672 Sir John Bennet founded at Pembroke *two Scholarships* of £10 open to all members of the College who were not of the Wightwicke and Tesdale foundations nor eligible into them, and *two Fellowships* of £20 for Bennet Scholars. He ordained that the Fellowships should be septennial, but the holders might be elected for a second term of seven years if they should have

* The granddaughter of this Elizabeth, Rebecca Bennet, was the "comely and ingenuous" but most unhappy second wife of "Lord" Bulstrode Whitelocke, President of the Council of State under the Commonwealth (who succeeded one of the Tesdale family in 1632 as Recorder of Abingdon), and mother of Sir James Whitelocke. When Queen Christina questioned Whitelocke rallyingly about his three wives and many children, he could have replied like Æneas, "*Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem*." A raging epilepsy, first showing itself on her wedding-day, dragged this poor lady through melancholia and madness to an early death under the hands of a quack, her husband being then overseas, and first hearing of it through Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon. As a lad at Oxford Whitelocke used to hunt with her brothers, Sir Thomas and Sir Humphry Bennet, of St. John's, who kept a small pack of beagles.

proved themselves useful to the Society. They were not bound to Holy Orders.

JEALOUSIES.

By this foundation a new element was introduced into the Society. Questions, determined on appeal by the Duke of Portland and the Duke of Wellington, have been raised in this century as to the rights of Bennet, sometimes called Ossulston, Fellows. But jealousies sprang up from the very first over this addition to the College. The Tesdale and Wightwicke Fellows complained in 1690 to the Duke of Ormonde of a private Statute, a new and hidden law, which they had never seen, and which was directly repugnant to the fundamental Statutes of the College. Those Statutes ordered that vacancies should be "forthwith" filled up, whereas the Master (Dr. Hall) denied that there could be any election to the Bennet foundation in his absence, and claimed the right to veto any name. "My Lord Ossulstone," moreover, had intervened, so as to establish a "forrain visitatoriall power, w^{ch} will be strangely derogatory to y^e rights of yo^r Grace. We have all imaginable respect" (say they) "for y^e L^d Ossulston, but can pay him no more than w^t is consistent our duty to our Visitour and to y^e Founders. We purchased not his Fellowships wth the loss of yo^r jurisdiction." The Duke ordained that vacancies should be filled within three months, but that no person should be reputed duly elected without the Master's consent. Should the Master and the Fellows disagree, the founder was to nominate during his lifetime, and after his death the Vice-Chancellor, the Dean of Christ Church and the

President of Magdalen for the time being, or (should either of the two latter be Vice-Chancellor) the King's Professor of Divinity. Lord Ossulston (he had been so created in 1682) died February 11, 1695. He seems to have been a *roué* and something worse, but he took a somewhat bold part in the House of Lords. His portrait in the College Hall, painted by R. Phillips, was given in 1721 by the first Ossulston Fellow, *Robert Cooper*, Rector of Arlington and Archdeacon of Dorset, a writer on mathematical subjects, who also gave £100 towards building the Chapel. Lord Ossulston, who died very rich, presented the College with a large goblet.

BISHOP MORLEY'S CHANNEL ISLAND FOUNDATION.

There hangs in the Hall a painting of Bishop George Morley in the robes of the prelate of the Garter. It was as Bishop of Winton, to which diocese the Channel Islands were transferred in 1499, that Morley came to be a benefactor of Pembroke. The President and Fellows of Corpus having declined to accede to the desire of Charles II., who, through the Dean of Guernsey, *John de Sausmarez* (a member of our College), had been endeavouring to bring "the misled subjects of that Island" to conform to the Prayer Book, that they would open one of their Hampshire Scholarships to natives of Guernsey and Jersey, Bishop Morley, "a pious and charitable man, of a very exemplary life, but extreme passionate and very obstinate" (Burnet), himself founded at Pembroke in 1678 *five Scholarships*, of £10 with chambers (valued at 40*s.*), for Channel Islanders, to be nominated by the Dean, Baillif and Jurats of

either isle. The foundation was intended to supplement that of King Charles I., and the Scholars were to promise to return to the Islands "to serve the publick as preachers, schoolmasters, or otherwise." One of the first batch of Morley Scholars was *Edward D' Auvergne*, the military historian, Chaplain to the Scots Guards and Rector of St. Brelade's.

TOWNSEND FOUNDATION.

In 1683 a Gloucestershire gentleman, George Townsend, of Lincoln's Inn, bequeathed an endowment for *eight grammar Scholars*, to be chosen in rotation from the chief school in Gloucester, by the Major, six senior Aldermen, and chief schoolmaster, and from the schools of Cheltenham, Chipping Campden, and Northleach,* by the respective chief Schoolmasters, Ministers, and Bailiffs. The Scholars were to hold their place for eight years, and during the last four were to addict their studies to divinity. For their encouragement therein Mr. Townsend settled on trustees the parsonage of Stifford, the vicarage of Grayes Thorock, and the donatives of Uxbridge and Colebrooke. The portrait in the Hall, given in 1743 by Townsend's kinsman, John Edows of New College, represents him as aged forty-five in 1647.† Townsend directed that the first

* Founded by Hugh Westwood, Esquire, "who came afterwards to be low in the World, and desiring to be Master of his own school was deny'd that Favour by the Trustees."

† There was a Robert, son of George, Townsend who entered Pembroke from Wiltshire in 1665, and became Rector of Wallingford and Canon of Sarum. If this is the same George Townsend the connection with Wallingford may point to a relationship to Lord Ossulston.

two years' profits of his benefaction should be bestowed towards College building and the furnishing of his *Scholars' chambers*. A sum of £278 2s. appears under his name among the donors to the erection of the Quadrangle.

The College Register of Fellows and Scholars begins in 1678. In 1681 Pembroke (with Balliol, University, Jesus College and Wadham) was rated at £100.

DISPUTES BETWEEN THE FELLOWS AND THE MASTER.

The dispute between the Fellows and the Master about the Ossulston benefaction was not the only matter on which there were bickerings. The date (1690) was one at which the disaffection of the "swearing" clergy towards existing powers was at its greatest. Sore with themselves, disgusted with the turn of affairs, they were disinclined to allow the seat of Whig authority to remain an easy one. Fragments of correspondence between the Fellows and "the High and Noble Prince, his Grace the Duke of Ormond, their honoured Visitour," which are preserved among the Wood and Carte MSS., reveal a state of war as existing in the College which excited interest not only in the University but in London circles. The Master had commanded the pupils attached to the Vice-gerent and other Tutors—presumably High Churchmen—to leave their tutors, assigning them to his late Servitor, whom the Fellows had almost unanimously rejected. One undergraduate, *John Foxall*, he had expelled for "noe other contumacy to the Master than a due Obedience to his Mothers and Guardians appointment, and a just respect to his Tutour," and other expulsions were expected. They

accuse the Master of neglect in administering the Holy Sacrament—it seems he was frequently absent from Oxford—and of winking at Nonconformity in the Manciple, who had further confessed to preaching in conventicles. The Master rendered no accounts of moneys deposited with him, neglected the statutory visitation of the College estates, and during his absences took with him the keys of the College chest. When out of Oxford he concealed himself, and a messenger despatched after him a hundred miles could learn no tidings of him. In Oxford he shut himself up in his Lodgings, and had to be waylaid like a debtor by bum-bailiffs. The Fellows represented that, as soon as he knew the Duke had left the kingdom, the Master's intention was "then to tyrannize." The Visitor, however, while ordaining the correction of certain irregularities, declared himself fully satisfied with Dr. Hall's integrity and care of the College concerns, and required the Fellows to repair their injustice by a dutiful behaviour for the future, the Master being desired "that forgetting what is past he will treat the Fellowes with the same Kindnesse and tendernesse as he would have done if this difference had never happened."

NONCONFORMITY INTRODUCED.

That the Fellows, however, had not complained with-out justice of the Master's disaffection to the Church is borne out by what Wood * records under January 169½, that "Dr. Hall, bishop of Bristow, suffers 8 yong scholars to his college, not to weare gownes, and

* Wood's *Life and Times* (ed. Clark, Oxf. Hist. Soc.), iii. 379, 442.

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Thomas Gilbert, a Nonconformist Independent, to read to them." This "ancient divine" was the noted "epitaph-maker to the Nonconformists," and a great admirer of Dr. Hall's preaching. He supplied Tony Wood, however, with many a good jest. Calamy used to hear Bishop Hall catechise at "St. Toll's" on Lord's Day evenings, and observes with approval that "he could bring all the Catechism of the Westminster Assembly out of the Catechism of the Church of England."

BISHOP HALL'S BOUNTIES.

A portrait of this prelate hangs in the Master's House. Dunton,* writing in Bishop Hall's lifetime, says of him that "his Charity to those that are in Want, and his Bounty to all Learned men that are put to wrestle with Difficulties, are so very extraordinary, and so many do partake of them that I need not enlarge in his Character; for 'tis acknowledg'd by all that the whole Business of his Life is to feed that Flock over which the Holy Ghost has made him overseer." In the *Album Benefactorum*, on richly illuminated vellum, given by him to the College, he is said to have raised it "ab humili conditione ad florentissimam qua nunc viget." During his reign the earlier foundations had been increased by two Fellowships and fifteen Scholarships, the Quadrangle completed and the Master's Lodgings built.

DISPUTES WITH ABINGDON.

There was some friction in 1673-74 between Dr. Hall and the citizens of Abingdon, who complained to the

* *Life and Errors*, 1705, p. 445.

Visitor of the Master's refusal to admit to a vacant Fellowship a certain Mr. Richard Mayott, and the Duke of Ormonde at their solicitation appointed commissioners to carry out a visitation of the College—with what result I do not know.

SOME NONJUROES—VISCOUNT HARCOURT.

An Abingdon Scholarship was vacated in 1675 by *Walter Harte*,* the nonjuror, father of the biographer of Gustavus Adolphus, and himself a laborious student. Being Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen, Taunton, during the Bloody Assize, he remonstrated with Jeffreys on his severities and won his respect. Harte was made Prebendary of Wells, but declined a bishoprick offered him by "the princess Anne" at the suggestion of a fellow Pembrochian, Lord Chancellor Harcourt. A Wightwicke-kin Fellow who matriculated with Harte was the High-church Dean of Lichfield and Canon of Westminster, *Dr. Jonathan Kimberley*. A more famous divine was *Arthur Collier*, nonjuror and philosopher (matr. 1697), who anticipated the idealistic metaphysics of Bishop Berkeley in his *Clavis Universalis*. *Simon Viscount Harcourt*, just mentioned, of Stanton Harcourt and Nuneham, Lord Keeper and Lord Chancellor, the friend and host of Alexander Pope, Swift's "trimming Harcourt," but the greatest of the High-church lawyers of the Queen Anne period, entered the College in 1677, aged fifteen, and resided three or four years, studying the classics and acquiring a taste for literature, imbibing

* An earlier Walter Harte, Scholar of Lincoln 1571, was hanged and quartered at York in 1583 as a Jesuit (see Clark's *History of Lincoln College*, p. 47).

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also at Pembroke, says Campbell, lofty divine-right ideas. He did not learn them from the Master. As Chancellor he refused to issue to the Hanoverian Elector a writ of summons to the House of Lords, but in 1714 did what most men did. He had been Recorder of Abingdon and sat for that borough. The picture of him there is not as good as the one in the Pembroke Hall. Lord Harcourt must be placed among the College benefactors, since but for his influence at Court the Mastership would be a more poorly endowed office.

CHAPTER XIII

MASTERSHIPS OF DR. COLWELL BRICK- ENDEN, 1710-1714, AND DR. MATTHEW PANTING, 1714-1738

ELECTION OF MASTER.

BISHOP HALL died at the Master's Lodgings, February 4, 1798. His body, having lain in state several days, was conveyed to Bromsgrove to be buried. The succession lay between two erstwhile Tesdale Fellows, *Colwell Brickenden*, Rector of Inkepen, his native place, and *William Hunt*, afterwards Dean of Wells and Archdeacon of Bath. "Both of them," writes Hearne, "have the Reputation of being honest Men, and endued with true Church of England Principles; but then there is this Difference between them: Mr. Brickenden has seven Children, Mr. Hunt not above two or three; Mr. Brickenden is an illiterate Person, Mr. Hunt is a man of learning; Mr. Brickenden is a boon Companion, or, as some style it, a Sot, Mr. Hunt is a Man of Sobriety and discretion, and came recommended by the Letters of the Bp. of Bath and Wells." Owing, however, to the treachery of one of the electors, *John Moulden*, Hunt lost the day by six votes to seven. Moulden seems to have been rewarded for his defection by the

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Rectory of St. Aldate's. He was killed by a fall from his horse in 1724.

CANONRY ANNEXED TO THE MASTERSHIP.

About Dr. Brickenden's short reign of four and a half years there is not much to tell, except that on November 11, 1713, Queen Anne, through the good offices of Lord Chancellor Harcourt, who retained an affection for his old College, issued Letters Patents annexing a *prebendal stall in Gloucester Cathedral* to the Mastership, a valuable augmentation of that post, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament June 8, 1714, at the same time that a Rochester canonry was granted to the Provosts of Oriel and one at Norwich to the Master of St. Catherine Hall in Cambridge. The Masters of Pembroke have ever since been Canons of Gloucester. Dr. Brickenden died in an apoplexy at the age of fifty, August 23, 1714, the day before the interment of Queen Anne in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. "He was good for little," says Hearne.* Though "an honest man"—not, *i.e.*, a Whig—he had joined in drawing up an address to the Elector of Hanover.

DR. PANTING, MASTER.

The adherents of the exiled King were unready, and George I. arrived in England September 20, 1714. The appointed preacher at St. Mary's on that day was the new Master of Pembroke, *Matthew Panting*, Carfax Lecturer in that year, but his sermon, says Hearne, "took no notice, at most very little, of the Duke of Brunswick." Thus was struck the note of Oxford

* *Collections*, ed. Rannie, iv. 399.

disaffection to the House of Hanover. I do not find, however, that any of the Fellows refused the oaths. Dr. Panting's Mastership was rendered notable by the erection of the College Chapel, and by the residence in the College walls of Johnson, Whitefield, and Shenstone. Somewhat earlier than these, there were in residence together *Nathaniel Bliss* (matr. 1716), afterwards Savilian Professor and Astronomer Royal, *Tipping Silvester*, who went on to a Fellowship, translator of the Psalms, controversial divine and poet, and the learned Channel Islander, *Philip Morant* (matr. from Abingdon 1717), author of the *Antiquities of the County of Essex* and editor of the *Rotuli Parliamentorum*.

HOLFORD FOUNDATION.

In the year 1719 *Dame Elizabeth Holford*, relict of Sir William Holford, of Witham, Bart.,* bequeathed money for the support at the College of *two Exhibitors*, to be chosen from Sutton's Hospital, or Charterhouse. They were to receive £20 apiece. She founded a free school at Stanton St. John's.

OADES FOUNDATION.

In 1731 the Rev. *William Oades* left property to the College for the purpose of assisting the poorer sort of *Servitors and Batellers*. When students of this kind ceased, four small Exhibitions were founded out of the bequest.

* His former wife was Frances, daughter of James, third Earl of Salisbury.

JOHNSON MATRICULATES.

None of the existing assistances was available for the support of Pembroke's greatest son, *Samuel Johnson*, when he came to the College at the end of a frosty October in 1728, aged nineteen. Whether a raw provincial youth who quoted Macrobius in conversation would succeed better under the present open Scholarship examination system I leave to others to determine. There is some reason, indeed, to think that Johnson received informal aid to some extent out of the lean College "bag." He spoke, many years afterwards, not only of "love and regard," but of "zeal and gratitude," towards Pembroke, and, until reminded of the claim of some indigent relatives, intended to bequeath to the College the house where he had been born. "Sir," he told an old Pembroke crony, apropos of a bequest to the College, "the English Universities are not rich enough. . . . Our Universities are impoverished of learning by the penury of their provisions." Had Johnson stayed up in 1730 he would probably have obtained one of the two Ossulston Scholarships. How Michael Johnson, the struggling Lichfield bookseller, was able to send his son to Oxford in the rank of a Commoner is most uncertain. Dr. Taylor, Johnson's Whig associate, who, he told Mrs. Thrale, knew more about his Oxford career than any one else except Dr. Adams, assured Boswell that the plan originated in the offer of a schoolfellow, who was about to enter the College as a Gentleman-Commoner, to support him there in the capacity of tutor and companion. This, doubtless, was *Andrew Corbett*, of Longnor, Salop,

who, however, matriculated twenty months before Johnson. It is very likely that the funds for Johnson's career, or perhaps for his first year, were provided, in part at any rate, by his godfather, *Dr. Samuel Swynfen*, University Lecturer of Grammar in 1705, a well-to-do Lichfield physician, and brother of *Richard Swynfen*, Member for Tamworth.* Both of these were Pembroke men.

POVERTY AND PRIDE.

Johnson certainly chafed under the sting of poverty, though the amount of his batells—about eight shillings a week—does not imply anything like actual deprivation. Doubtless he was fiercely on the look-out to resent slights, and morbidly alive to the disadvantages of indigence. He fancied the Christ Church men noticed his feet peeping through his ragged shoes when he went across to borrow Taylor's lecture notes, and flung passionately out of window a new pair which some kind friend placed at his chamber door. He was, he said, "miserably poor." Very well; he would fight his way by his literature and his wit. He describes himself in those days as "mad and violent." His loud and bitter laughter as he stood idling in the Tower gateway with a circle of companions round him, to whom he laid down the law on points of language, or whom he spirited up to rebel against the College rules, was taken by Adams, a young don on the Wightwicke-kin foundation, afterwards Master, to whom Johnson became so deeply

* Another brother, *John Swynfen*, also at Pembroke, was great-grandfather of the famous Earl St. Vincent. Their father was Pepys's "the great Mr. Swynfen, the Parliament-man" (1612-1694).

attached, for the happy gaiety and careless frolicsomeness of a young man "caressed and loved by all about him." "We all feared him," a fellow-undergraduate reported, however, half a century later. No down-trodden garreteer is to be recognised in the ring-leader of every offence against discipline, who passes his tutor in the street without removing his cap, heads the nightly chase, with pan and candlestick, of the unfortunate servitor whose duty it is to knock at each door to see if the owner is within, or lampoons the College ale in Latin verses. Adams told Boswell that Johnson's irregularity at lecture had been much exaggerated, yet he felt bound to remonstrate with the future champion of subordination upon his insubordinate habits. Johnson respected his senior's character and attainments and felt ashamed, but, he confessed afterwards, was too proud to own it. In maturer years he looked back with astonishment and remorse to his self-assertiveness, and especially to his insolence towards his kind tutor, *William Jorden*, Adams's cousin, whose Logic lecture may have been, as Johnson rudely told him, worth not half the twopenny scone with which truancy was punished, but who treated his pupils like sons, and towards Johnson acted with a delicacy and forbearance that found its way at last through all wayward pride to the tender deeps of that most human and affectionate heart. The ill-mannered bravadoes of his youth he described to Boswell as having arisen from "stark insensibility."

STUDIES.

A fault which Johnson never outgrew was laziness. When he made his first declamation in Hall, he had written but one copy, and that a rough one, which he handed to his tutor on entering; and thus "was obliged to begin by chance and continue on how he could, for he had got but little of it by heart; so fairly trusting to his present powers for immediate supply he finished by adding astonishment to the applause of all who knew how little was owing to study." The Fifth of November was, in honour of King James, the most solemn of seven Gaudy days. On that day the Master dined in public, and the juniors, according to ancient custom, "went round the fire in the hall." Verse exercises on the subject of the day were required of the undergraduates, and Johnson, at the end of his freshman's year, ought to have had his theme ready. He had entirely neglected the task, however, and to apologise for his neglect gave in a short copy of verses which he entitled *Somnium*, relating that the Muse had warned him in his sleep that it did not become him to aspire to political topics. His reading was always desultory, but he read Homer and Euripides, while at Pembroke, pretty solidly, a little Epigram also, and dived into metaphysics. In the College library he found a book which so fascinated him that on leaving Oxford he borrowed it in order to render it out of French into English—the Jesuit Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia*. He did not return the volume, but out of it grew the idea of *Rasselas*. Up till now Johnson had not thought earnestly about religion, and had been a lax talker, rather than thinker, against the

things that are invisible; but, taking up *Law's Serious Call* with the expectation of laying it down again with a laugh, he was deeply impressed and awed by the spiritual power and literary strength of the nonjuring divine. "I found *Law*," he said, "quite an overmatch for me."

AN OLD MAN'S MEMORIES.

There stood until 1869, at the south end of the present dining-hall, the old two-storeyed summer Common Room. Here Johnson used to play at draughts with *Phil Jones*, whose love of beer hindered his advancement in the Church, and *John Fludyer*, son of the Mayor of Abingdon, who "turned out a scoundrel, a Whig, and said he was ashamed of having been bred at Oxford." In his old age he pointed out to Hannah More, with whom he "gallanted it" about the College, the place where they used to play cricket,* probably the "commoners' garden," a grassy space east of the middle, or Master's garden. He showed her Shenstone's room and his own. The former is forgotten, but Johnson's chamber is the one on the second floor over the entrance gateway, and was at that time at the top of the tower, to which another storey has been added in this century. One window looks into the Quadrangle, and one is close to the Master's House, where Dr. Panting overheard Johnson's soliloquy about visiting foreign universities.

* Undergraduates have lost that liberty together with others. Those, for instance, who were going to be famous in after life seem commonly in old times to have planted a tree. The small tables in the Pembroke senior Common-room are made, it is said, from "Shenstone's mulberry-tree," already mentioned. Milton planted a mulberry at Christ's.

As Johnson was turning the key of the door one day, he heard his name distinctly called by his mother, who was at Lichfield.

Johnson's room has twice narrowly escaped being destroyed by fire in the last sixty years.

LENGTH OF JOHNSON'S RESIDENCE.

Boswell positively asserts that Johnson remained at the College till the autumn of 1731, and then, as the scanty remittances from his now insolvent father could be supplied no longer, left without a degree, after a residence of more than three years. This seems at first sight to be borne out by Adams's remark to Boswell forty-five years later: "I was his nominal tutor; but he was above my mark," for Adams succeeded Jorden as tutor in 1731. But it is certain from the Buttery books, and Dr. Birkbeck Hill has conclusively argued, that Johnson ceased to batell in College just before the Christmas of 1729,* having resided continuously for fourteen months without being absent a single week. (Even Gentlemen-Commoners stayed up in vacation, if they lived at a distance.) Fourteen months is not much less than the total actual residence of an undergraduate

* Johnson records in the *Prayers and Meditations* that he had not seen *Oliver Edwards*, his old College friend, since 1729. Edwards, however, was then in his first year at Pembroke. Johnson meeting him fifty years after remembered their discussing Latin epigrams "at an alehouse near Pembroke-gate" (perhaps "Ledenporch Hall," just demolished). Boswell to Edwards (in 1781): "I think, sir, Dr. Johnson and you meet only at Church." "Sir," said he, "it is the best place we can meet in except heaven; and I hope we shall meet there too." Johnson however had begged that they should not discourage one another. He was not desirous, we know, of meeting fools anywhere. But he clung to Edwards as to all old friends.

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of the present day. Johnson's name, however, was retained on the Buttery books till October 1, 1731, being placed after the preceding March at the *end* of the Commoners. His account with the Bursars was not finally settled till Lady Day, 1740, when his outstanding batells (£7) were stated to balance his caution-money. It is clear that when he left, in December 1729, it was with the hope of returning, and "nominal tutor" must mean, not that Johnson had nothing to learn from Adams, but that his name was on the list of Adams's pupils, though he was out of residence.

THE COLLEGE REVISITED.

Adams himself left the College at Easter, 1732, to become perpetual curate of St. Chad's, in his native Shrewsbury. Johnson had formed scarcely any other Oxford friendships of a lasting kind, and he did not see Oxford again till the long vacation of 1754, when his days of poverty and struggle were over. He stayed at Kettel Hall, but on the morning after his arrival went round with Warton to his old College, and was pleased to find himself remembered by the College servants.

RECEIVED COLDLY BY THE MASTER.

He waited on the Master, Dr. Ratcliff, who, however, received him coldly, did not order a copy of the forthcoming Dictionary, and seemed uninterested in the subject. He did not ask Johnson to dine or even to repeat his visit. "There lives a man," said Johnson as they left, "who lives by the revenues of literature, and will not move a finger to support it. If I come to live at Oxford, I shall take up my abode at Trinity."

The remark was not quite just, as Dr. Ratcliff was a considerable benefactor to the College; he was, moreover, always ailing. Johnson, however, had a cordial meeting with *John Meeke*, now a Fellow, his contemporary as an undergraduate, whose superiority in construing at the classical lecture in Hall used so to mortify him, he told Warton, that he always tried to sit out of earshot. Johnson also recalled translating Pope's *Messiah* into Latin verse as a Christmas Exercise, and rolled out a sonorous but un-Virgilian hexameter from it. This exercise, composed when he was a freshman of two months' standing, won him considerable reputation in the University and a generous commendation from the veteran poet himself—not usually lavish of generous words.

STAYS AT THE COLLEGE WITH DR. ADAMS.

The visit to Oxford of 1754 was followed by at least a score of others, and when Adams became Master Johnson was glad to be lodged in Pembroke. In 1755 the University created him Master of Arts, and in 1775 Doctor of Civil Law. He ever loved to consider himself an academic writer, and felt nowhere so much at home as in the libraries of Oxford.

A REMINISCENCE OF JOHNSON.

Every remaining link, even at one remove, with Johnson is to be carefully treasured, especially if it connect him with the College of which he became a member one hundred and seventy years ago. Dr. Hill some while since rescued from the pages of the *Red Dragon*, a now discontinued Welsh publication, an anecdote by *Mr. John Coke Fowler*, librarian of the

Union Society in 1837, Deputy Chairman of the Glamorganshire sessions, which I have recently had also from this venerable gentleman himself. When he entered Pembroke as Exhibitioner in 1833, an old superannuated porter of the College was alive, who told Mr. Fowler that on Dr. Johnson's last visit to Pembroke in 1784 he had expressed a wish to see his old rooms again, but that, being then unwieldy, asthmatic and infirm, he was obliged to invoke the aid of this janitor, who lived at the bottom of the narrow stair, to push him up it from behind. While an undergraduate Mr. Fowler met at a country house in Leicestershire a very aged lady, a Miss Dyott, who told him that, the great man once dining at her father's or uncle's house at Lichfield, she saw him, in the eagerness of conversation, unconsciously help himself to vegetables by diving his fingers into the dish !

The following incident has been supposed to have happened in the Pembroke gardens. Johnson being very fond of figs, and the last one of the season being yet unripe, he wrote above the fig on the tree, "Johnson's fig." A humorist seeing this removed the notice, and put another instead of it with the words, "A fig for Johnson !" But the story is usually told of Dr. Kennicott.

SHENSTONE.

In his *Lives of the Poets*, written towards the close of his life, Johnson describes his old College as "a society which for half a century has been eminent for English poetry and elegant literature." He himself was the first fledged of the "nest of singing birds." On May 25, 1732, matriculated the poet *William Shenstone*—"a

water-gruel bard " Walpole unkindly calls him—as a Gentleman-Commoner, at the age of seventeen. The *Dictionary of National Biography* mistakenly says that he was contemporary with Johnson. He was a bashful, large, and clumsy-looking young man. Other freshmen cut off their hair on coming to the University, but Shenstone preferred to appear singular rather than wear a periwig. Yet he dressed in gay suits, wore valuable trinkets, and was deemed in his own way a beau.

COLLEGE SETS.

Though in all his five years' residence in Oxford he formed few intimacies, Shenstone was to be found in most of the College coteries, now with the young *Howes* (afterwards the second and third *Lords Chedworth* *), and other "bucks of the first head," toasting their favourite beauties on their knees in arrack punch and claret, now exchanging puns, mottoes, and Bacchanalian catches over pipes and tankards of ale with a set of merry West-country lads, many of them scholars and wits, the whole evening long; or we see him anxiously discussing the news-letter and the affairs of the kingdom among "a sort of flying squadron of plain, sensible, matter-of-fact men, confined to no club, but associating with each party," who "had come to the University on their way to the Temple, or to get a slight smattering of the sciences before they settled in the country."

Richard Graves mentions a "mortified symposium" in which he never met Shenstone, that of the water-drinking Grecians, who read over Theophrastus,

* Both of these young noblemen hailed from Abingdon, a curious illustration of the diversion of pious Founders' intentions.

Epictetus, Phalaris' Epistles, and the less known ancients. But he fancied him not really in his element in the sets already described. At any rate, Shenstone and Graves, together with *Anthony Whistler*, a young Etonian of "great delicacy of sentiment" and an equally great dislike of languages, or indeed of taking trouble about anything, formed an esoteric friendship, and met in one another's rooms at breakfast, or in the summer evenings, to read plays and poetry, Cotton's *Virgil Travestie*, or the latest production of Addison or Steele. We see the young men sipping their Florence wine, and doubtless Shenstone recited pieces from a small volume of verses which he printed at Oxford in 1737 "for the Amusement of a few Friends, prejudiced in his Favour," but afterwards tried to suppress; or Mr. Whistler read part of his unfinished tragedy of *Dido*. When both were getting towards middle-age, Shenstone's roughness and Whistler's "trivial elegance and punctilio" caused a rupture between them*; but when the latter died in 1754, Shenstone wrote to Graves: "The triumvirate which was the greatest happiness and the greatest pride of my life is broken. *Tales animas oportuit esse concordēs.*" We are told that Shenstone also studied philosophy and mathematics attentively. But though he continued his name on the College books for ten years, he never mustered energy to take a degree. Leaving Oxford with a sigh, he sought happiness in tender Arcadianism, but died of a putrid fever amid the *bijouteries* of the Leasowes, im-

* The well-known lines written in a summer-house at Edgehill, about finding "the warmest welcome at an Inn," were penned after a tiff with Whistler, with whom Shenstone had been staying in Oxfordshire.

poverished and broken-hearted, at the age of forty-eight. His portrait hangs in the College Bursary. There is another in the National Portrait Gallery, and Ross painted him in his undergraduate days.

GRAVES.

Shenstone's intimate, *Richard Graves*, was the son of Hearne's friend, the gentle Gloucestershire antiquary and numismatist, *Richard Graves the elder*, who came to Pembroke in 1693. The younger Richard entered as an Abingdon Scholar the same day as Whitefield, November 7, 1732, and they took B.A. together. Graves became a Fellow of All Souls. Long overliving his friends, Shenstone and Whistler, he died in this century, November 23, 1804. There are portraits of him by Gainsborough and Northcote. The best known of his novels, *The Spiritual Quixote*, is a free but not malicious satire on the Methodist movement, and introduces Whitefield as a principal character.

WHITEFIELD.

Johnson told Boswell, with a smile, that he knew Whitefield at Pembroke "before he began to be better than other people"; but this is inexplicable. One might like to fancy Johnson growling over the "coll" served out to him from the ale-jack by the pale-faced, squint-eyed servitor, or picture, as Dr. Birkbeck Hill suggests, the future moralist and champion of High-church orthodoxy hunting round the Quad., to the accompaniment of "Chevy-Chase" and banging of pot and kettle, the future prophet of Calvinistic Methodism. But though Whitefield was doubtless chevied in this

manner, it cannot have been by Johnson. Whitefield has preserved for us a touching and impressive account of his College days.* No greater contrast could be imagined than between the boisterous independence and proud poverty of Johnson, the *dilettante* dabbling in the Muses of Shenstone and his friends, the aristocratic wine-cups of the Gentlemen-Commoners, or the noisy joviality of the beer-drinkers, and the spiritual combat of this meek, menial saint, in "woollen gloves, patched gown, and dirty shoes," ingratiating himself by "diligent and ready attendance" into "the gentlemen's favour," yet sitting alone in his study, benumbed in every limb, rather than "join in excess of riot" with his companions round the fire in the common sleeping-room, or prone in prayer for two hours beneath the Christ Church elms under the stormy night, which filled him with awful thoughts of the Day of Doom.

ADMITTED AS A SERVITOR.

George Whitefield was given a servitor's place by Dr. Panting. One day a Pembroke servitor who had been at St. Marie de Crypt School with George came into the parlour of the "Bell" at Gloucester and told Mrs. Whitefield that he had discharged all his College expenses for the term and received a penny to boot. "That will do for my son. Will you go to Oxford, George?" the hostess cried to him as he stood in his blue apron, the snuffers at his waist, drawing for customers in the bar. "With all my heart," the lad

* *A Short Account of God's Dealings with the Reverend George Whitefield.*

replied. By the interest of friends he obtained the desired post about a twelvemonth later. We may wonder, perhaps, that, coming from Gloucester Grammar School, he did not obtain a Townsend Scholarship. However, he writes, "God was so gracious that with the profits of my place and some little presents made me by my kind tutor, for almost the first three years I did not put all my relations together to above 24*l*. expence." During his last year at the "Bell" Whitefield had followed a mortified rule of life, and, though one of his brothers told him his frequent communions and fastings and prayers would be forgotten when he reached Oxford, his meeting, soon after coming up, with two treatises of Law, the *Serious Call* and the *Christian Perfection*, greatly deepened the impressions he had already received, and caused him to adopt a still more rigorous method of devotion. However, he was not fully satisfied of the sin of playing at cards and reading stage-plays till God on a fast-day was pleased to convince him.

BECOMES ACQUAINTED WITH WESLEY.

He was not yet acquainted with any of the Oxford Methodists, though he often watched them pass through a jeering crowd into St. Mary's to receive the Eucharist, and longed to know them and follow their example. One day, an unhappy woman in one of the workhouses having tried to cut her throat, Whitefield, "knowing that both the Mr. *Wesleys* were ready to every good work," sent the College apple-woman to tell Charles Wesley. Contrary to his orders, she mentioned Whitefield's name. He was not wholly unknown to

the young Lincoln Fellow, who had heard of his frequenting the Sacrament at the Castle Church and at St. Aldate's or St. Ebbe's, and had frequently met him walking solitarily. An invitation to breakfast was the beginning of a closer intimacy. The raw servitor gratefully accepted the instructions of his senior, and by degrees being introduced to the rest of the little band began, like them, to live by rule even in the minutest matters.

METHODISM.

He kept the stations by fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, and, there being no weekly Eucharist in the Pembroke Chapel, though, as he complains, the rubrick prescribed it, received every Sunday in the Cathedral. Attending the statutory Latin Communion of the whole University at St. Mary's, at the beginning of term, he found himself almost alone, and a mark for the ridicule of the "polite students" who knew him. Charles Wesley, in order to encourage him, walked with him from St. Mary's to the College; but, he says:

"I confess, to my shame, I would gladly have excused him; and the next day, going to his room, one of our Fellows passing by, was ashamed to be seen to knock at his door."

TREATMENT BY THE COLLEGE AUTHORITIES.

The Master, Dr. Panting, frequently chode the young servitor, and once threatened to expel him, for his visits to the poor. Whitefield acknowledges, however, that he had abandoned the study of the "dry sciences," for which study, the Master may have considered, he had

after all been brought to Oxford rather than for unauthorised evangelisation of the alleys and courts of the town. From his tutor, at any rate, Whitefield received only kindness and advice. He could not quite approve of his pupil's doings, but lent him books, gave him money, visited him in his garret, and furnished him with medical attendance when sick. At this time Whitefield believed the ghostly Enemy had taken possession of his body, and as he went his rounds, at ten every evening, to "knock at the gentlemen's rooms," he trembled at every stair lest Satan should appear to him.

"The devil also sadly imposed on me in the matter of my college exercises. Whenever I endeavoured to compose my theme, I had no power to write a word. *Saturday* being come (which is the day the students give up their compositions), it was suggested to me that I must go down into the hall, and confess I could not make a theme, and so publicly suffer, as if it were for my Master's sake. When the bell rung to call us, I went to open the door to go downstairs, but feeling something give me a violent inward check, I entered my study, and continued instant in prayer waiting the event. For this my tutor fined me half a crown. The next week Satan served me in like manner again; but, having now got more strength, and perceiving no inward check, I went into the hall. My name being called, I stood up, and told my tutor I could not make a theme. I think he fined me a second time; but, imagining that I would not willingly neglect my exercise, he afterwards called me into the common room, and kindly enquired whether any misfortune had befallen me, or what was the reason I could not make a theme?

I burst into tears, and assured him that it was not out of contempt of authority, but that I could not act otherwise. Then, at length, he said he believed I could not; and, when he left me, told a friend (as he very well might) that he took me to be really mad."

ASCETIC LIFE.

In Lent he ate nothing, except on Sundays, but coarse bread with sago tea, unsweetened. Other excessive mortifications, joined with continual inward conflict, so emaciated his frame that "at Passiontide, finding I could scarce creep upstairs, I was obliged to inform my kind tutor of my condition, who immediately sent for a physician to me." "What is his fasting come to now?" asked the triumphant Philistines. Some of them had "thrown dirt" at him; others had taken away their pay from him; two even of his friends had gradually forsaken him. But he enjoyed many sweet and happy hours with his new friends at his side. When he got stronger, his tutor and others urged him to go into the country. It was nearly three years since he had seen his home and mother.

HELPED GRADUATE.

From May 31, 1735, to March 11, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$, he was absent from Oxford. Then he came up again for his last term. The father of two Pembroke Gentlemen-Commoners, the aged Sir John Philipps—he died January 5, 173 $\frac{1}{2}$ —was watching the progress of the Oxford Methodists with interest, and offered Whitefield an allowance of £30 a year if he would continue at the

University, and £20 a year if he did not.* He was close, however, now to his degree, and was preparing for ordination. "For my quality I was a poor mean drawer; but by the distinguishing grace of God am now intended for the ministry. As for my estate I am a servitor." On June 20, 1736, Whitefield was ordained deacon at Gloucester. During the week he "set out for Oxford, whither he inclined to go, rather than to the parish which the Bishop would have given him, because it was the place where he might best prosecute his studies, and where he hoped his labours might be most useful" (*Tyerman*). He took his degree, by the help of Bishop Benson and Sir John Philipps, on July 1, a few days after Graves. The Buttery books show that he batelled in College till August 8.

LATER RESIDENCE IN PEMBROKE.

He was then invited to officiate in the Chapel of the Tower of London, but returned to Pembroke on September 16, where he "found himself very happy in his former employments" and in the company of the Methodists, who "met together in his chamber every day." He purposed at this time to spend some years in Oxford, but the return of Wesley from Georgia determined him to a missionary career. On November 18, 1736, Whitefield went down to Dummer, Hants, to serve a curacy, but was back at the College again on February 18, 1737 till the beginning of April. During

* Wesley writes, December 6, 1736, on his return from Georgia, "I waited upon good old Sir John Philips, who received me as one alive from the dead. Here I heard a most blessed account of our friends at Oxford."

three months, under General Oglethorpe's auspices, he set London on fire with his extraordinary oratorical powers, but the whole of July of that year was spent in his "sweet retirement" at Pembroke. His life there, says Tyerman, had been "useful and happy." Towards the close of the year he set sail for Savannah, returning, however, to Oxford for admission to the priesthood in January 1738. In 1748 he met his old College tutor at Bristol, and told him that "his judgment (as he trusted) was a little more ripened than it was some years ago."

AFFECTION FOR HIS OLD COLLEGE.

He looked back with love, his biographer affirms, on the place of his bringing up. Mr. Overton considers that Whitefield gained nothing by his Oxford career. His preaching, without it, would hardly, I think, have attracted Chesterfield and Hume.

APPENDIX.

COLLEGE TUTORS.

In a recent novel, *The Castle Inn*, by a well-known writer, part of the action takes place in Pembroke College, in the rooms over the gateway, and a tutor of the College is a principal character throughout the book. Even as a caricature of the conventional clerical Fellow of George II.'s day, the presentment of this coward, sot, and whining ruffian is an impossible one. But when it is compared with the lovable and conscientious men who were actually tutors of the College then, or a little earlier, one wonders

why the talented author did not connect his story with some other college. I venture, however, to append a portrait of an Oxford tutor, of the end, it is true, of the seventeenth century, from a charming little book recently reprinted.*

The Guardian's Instruction, by Stephen Penton, Principal of St. Edmund Hall and Rector of Glympton, gives a favourable picture of Oxford before the Revolution of 1688. The "Guardian," a member of Parliament, has for forty years railed against what he has been told is the "Idle, Ill-bred, Debauch'd, Popish University of Oxford." He had himself in King Charles I.'s days been entered there under a "tutour" who was a great philosopher, and who had begun by inflaming his desires towards high thoughts and learning, declaring it a disgrace to England that "when other Countries, *France, Poland, Scotland*, etc., are studious to discipline their Nobility and Gentry into *good Manners, Politicks, and Religion*, here eldest Sons are generally condemned to Hawks and Hounds, and Wisdom left the Patrimony of *younger* Brothers onely, and *Poor* men's Sons"; so that, the narrator says, "I out-waked the Bell, and scorned to be called to my Duty. I attended every motion of his Eye for a summons to Philosophy." However, the fame of the tutor's parts and learning had gained him greater acquaintances, so that a lecture given now and then came to be looked on as a condescension, and the disillusioned lad was left pretty much to himself. Then came the chaos of the Civil War and the frolick of the Restoration. As soon as the King was voted home again, "to study was *Fanaticism* . . . and thus it continued for a twelvemonth, and thus it would have continued till this time [1687], if it had not pleased God to raise up some Vice-Chancellours

* Messrs. F. E. Robinson & Co., 20 Great Russell Street.

who . . . in defiance of the loyal zeal of the *Learned*, the drunken zeal of *Dunces* and the great amazement of *young Gentlemen*, who really knew not what they would have, but yet made the greatest noise, reduced the University to that temperament that a man might study and not be thought a *Dullard*, might be sober and yet a *Conformist*, a Scholar and yet a *Church of England-man*; and from that time the University became sober, modest, and studious as perhaps any *University in Europe*." The Guardian learns of this improvement from "an old grave Learned Divine," a rigid Churchman of great simplicity of character, and after much searching of heart brings his "child" to Oxford, lies at a noisy inn, but is relieved to be told by "the Proctour" that it is roystering townsmen (two of whom are marched off to gaol) who have made the disturbance. Next day he waits, with the youth, upon the College Tutor, and finds a shrewd, self-respecting divine, by no means disposed to be patronised, or flattered to see a member of Parliament standing in his room cap in hand. His manner of speech suggested that "the Gentry were *obliged* to Tutours more than Tutours to them," and he remarked (with somewhat of sharpness):

"Many Mothers (I would say Fathers too were it not for shame) are so wise as to think that man much more accomplished for a Tutor who can cringe solemnly, tattle in their way, lead them handsomely over a Gutter, and kiss their hands with a good grace, than a man of less *Fashion* and *Ceremony*, who instead of flattering Parents and humouring the Son, sets carefully to work, and lets the Youth know what he comes up for. Though in the mean time I do not think *Clownishness* a Virtue. . . . I have often refused Presents when I thought my pains overvalued, though I believe (*generally*) an honest Tutor sells his hours cheaper than the Fencer or Dancing-master will."

He desires the Guardian to lay his commands upon the Youth, that he observe the duties of the House for Prayers, Exercises, etc., as if he were the son of a beggar, "for when a young Boy is plumed up with a *new Suit*, he is apt to fansie himself a fine thing. Because he hath a peny Commons more than the rest, therefore he ought to be abated a peny-worth of Duty, Learning, and Wisdom. Whereas the Gentlemen in the University ought to do *more Exercise* than the others, for they stay but little time there. . . . The Gentry are too severe in condemning the Universities for not sending home their Sons furnish'd with *Ethicks, Politicks, Rhetorick, History*, the necessary Learning of a Gentleman, *Logick* and *Philosophy*, etc., and other *usefull Parts* ; when they send up their Sons for two, perhaps three years only, and suffer them to trifle away half that time too. It is an ungratefull task to the Tutour always to be *chiding*, the Father must command *greater strictness* ; otherwise, when the young man who hath been long in *Durance*, and here finds his shackles knocked off, and the Gate wide open, he will *ramble* everlastingly, and make it work more than enough for us to keep him sober : whereas if they will take care that he be furnish'd *early* at School with Latin, come up hither young and *pliable*, stay here and study hard for *five years*, then if he prove not able to doe the King and his Countrey service, I am content it should be *our Fault*."

"Five years" did not two centuries ago mean five periods of four-and-twenty weeks. The second command which the Guardian is to lay on his charge is :

"That he write no Letter to come home for the first *whole year*. It is a common and a very great inconvenience, that soon after a young Gentleman is settled, and but *beginning to begin* to study, we have a tedious ill spell'd Letter from a dear Sister, who languishes and longs to see

him as much almost as she doth for a Husband ; and this, together with rising to Prayers at six a Clock in the morning, softens the lazy Youth into a fond desire of seeing them too : Then all on the sudden up *Posts* the Livery-man and the led Horse, enquires for the College where the young *Squire* lives, finds my young Master with his Boots and Spurs on *before-hand*, quarrelling the poor man for not coming sooner. The next news of him is at home, within a day or two he is invited to a *hunting match*, and the sickly Youth, who was scarce able to rise to Prayers, can now rise at four of the Clock to a Fox-chase. . . . And after such a sort of *Education* for six or eight weeks, full of tears and melancholy, the sad Soul returns to *Oxford*, his Brains have been so *shogged*, he cannot think in a fortnight : and after all this, if the young man prove debauch'd, the University must be blam'd. . . . The first question the Tutor should ask is, In what kind of *Family* the Child hath been bred up before he comes to us. . . . If he shall come out of a *Sty* or a *Den*, see his own Father carried up three times a week to Bed, hear nothing but Oaths and ill language from Servants, etc., it must needs vitiate the Virgin Soul, he comes up diseas'd."

The youth is further to be commanded not to frequent "publick Places, such as are Bowling Green, Racket Court, etc., for beside the danger of firing his bloud by a *Fever*, heightning Passion with *cursing* and *swearing*, he must unavoidably grow acquainted with *promiscuous* Company."

"I know a very honest lusty Countrey Gentleman of four or five thousand a year, who sent his Heir to the University merely for *Credit's* sake ; and wisely bid him spend what he would (which the Youth dutifully obeyed), required no more of his *Tutor* than to keep him from knocking his head against a Sign-post, and dirting his silken Stockens at nine of the Clock—do you think such a

man fit company for your Son whom you design to be Lord Keeper?"

Other pointed remarks follow about avoidance of dice and of debt, about whining letters sent home concerning College discipline by "ill-natured untoward Boys" whose one design is to go home again to spanning farthings, about keeping a "padd," about attendance at the University Church, about silly talk against ceremonies and Church government, about not letting a young man get out of touch with home, about study and about prayer. And then this honest and kind "Tutour," refusing an invitation to dinner at the Inn, saying that such Houses were not built for Gown-men, kept the youth, who was already homesick and clinging to his mother, to dine quietly with himself, and next day desired the company of the member of Parliament, his lady, daughters and son to a Commons, at which instead of being starved as the girls foretold, fortifying themselves all the morning with "chocolate," they were nobly entertained by the Tutour at a table bright with a profusion of silver tankards, fresh napery, and glasses fit for a Dutchman, and with such a plenitude of good cheer as made the Father ashamed, "considering with my self that I should put this man to such a charge of forty shillings at least to entertain me, when for all his honest care and pains he is to have but forty or fifty shillings a Quarter." It is satisfactory to read his final opinion of Oxford:

"I walk'd the Streets as late as most people and never in ten days time ever saw any Scholar rude or disordered; so that . . . I do repent of the *ill opinion* I have had of that place."

CHAPTER XIV

DR. PANTING'S MASTERSHIP (*continued*);
MASTERSHIP OF DR. JOHN RATCLIFF,
1738-1775

THE CHAPEL.

WHEN Whitefield complained that there was not a weekly Eucharist as in the Pembroke Chapel, the building of which he spoke was a new erection, having been consecrated July 10, 1732, a few months before his own matriculation. The College had always wished to have a Chapel of its own, even though dateless memories were associated with Docklington's Aisle in St. Aldate's. When the Duke and Duchess of York and Princess Anne were in Oxford in 1683 they did not visit Pembroke because it "had no chappell." Encouraged by a benefaction of two hundred guineas from *Mr. Bartholomew Tipping*, of Chaddleworth, Berks, and Stokenchurch, Oxon, and a legacy of £100 from a neighbour of Mr. Tipping's, *Dr. Charles Sloper*, of Woodhay, Berks, Chancellor of Bristol, a sometime Fellow (Proctor in 1697), the Society took in hand the building of the present Ionic edifice. Other substantial donors were the Earl of Arran, then Visitor; the Earl of Pembroke; *Sir Jemmet Raymond*; *Dr. Samuel Baker*, Canon and

Chancellor of York ; *Dr. Robert Cooper*, Archdeacon of Dorset, who presented the picture of Lord Ossulston now hanging in the Hall (both of these Doctors conferred other benefits on the College); and the *Rev. James Phipps*, a great benefactor, whose own portrait, with that of his lady,* hangs there. Salmon wrote in 1749: "The Chapel is a fine Piece of Architecture (but not large), built of hewn Stone and extremely well furnish'd without and within. The marble Pillars, particularly, at the Altar are exceedingly beautiful." On the screen are the arms of Sloper and of Tipping. I do not know what the centre of the altar-piece was till 1786, when a Fellow-Commoner, *Mr. Joseph Plymley*, or *Corbett*, afterwards Archdeacon of Salop,† (several of whose family were at the College), gave the picture by Cranke which is there now—a copy of Our Lord's figure in a picture at Antwerp, executed by Rubens for the Petits Carmes. This picture is usually described as representing St. Theresa interceding for the souls in Purgatory. But the following description of it appears on an old engraving: "Exstimulat Christus Dominus S. M. Teresiam ut opem ferat animae D. Bernadini Mendozae ignibus Purgatorii detentae, quae postea ope S. Teresiae liberata fuit. Lib: Fund: S. Ter: cap. 10. Sancta ergo et salubris est cogitatio pro Defunctis exorare ut a peccatis solvantur. 2 Mach. cap. 12."

Oxonia Depicta in 1733 shows the exterior of the Chapel as then recently finished.

* The latter portrait is very like the one of Dame Elizabeth Holford at Worcester College, and it has been thought that Mrs. Phipps is really Lady Holford.

† *Panton Plymley*, his eldest son, also a Gentleman-Commoner, gave, in 1804, the portrait of Johnson in the Master's House.



From a photograph by the

THE CHAPEL
(Taken in Vacation)

[Oxford Camera Club]

throughout the Chapel, after the Flemish manner, is of the very finest kind.

ALTAR FURNITURE AND VESSELS.

The following gifts to the Chapel were made at this time: The tall silver candlesticks, after Annibale Fontana (presented by *Mr. Alfred Thomas Barton* and *Mr. Athelstan Riley*), and altar-cross to match (presented by one of the Fellows), the beautiful silver-gilt chalice and paten, designed by Mr. Kempe, and the silver-gilt tray with crewets, of old Spanish workmanship (presented by Messrs. Athelstan Riley and *Hugh Colin Robert Cunninghame*). These crewets took the place of the fine but enormous Commonwealth flagon, and the chalice and paten were substituted reluctantly for those of 1696, which are, of course, reverently preserved. The beautiful old Charles II. lights (silver-gilt) now stand on the credentia, as well as the great alms-dish, dated 1706. The latter was given by *Benajmin* and *Nicholas Hyett*, and the former by the *Hon. William Howard*, all three Fellow-Commoners.

ORGAN.

In 1893 an organ was placed in the Ante-chapel, of which the case was partly made from the woodwork of the old organ in the Sheldonian. Until then there had never been any music in Pembroke Chapel, if we except a harmonium and voluntary choir introduced for a short period in the sixties by undergraduate zeal and subsidised by the College, until the spectre of Ritualism arose. The rest was silence. A College service said absolutely plainly is not without a charm, but it

usually becomes a monologue. There have been no sermons at Pembroke until this year for many years. On the other hand, the Divine Office had not been indecently shorn and abbreviated, nor the common prayers of the College degraded to an easily distanced competition with the alternative of roll-call.

METHOD OF ADMINISTERING HOLY COMMUNION.

Until the Mastership of Dr. Evans it was the custom here, as still at St. Mary's and the Cathedral and formerly in several College Chapels, to bring the Elements to the communicants kneeling in their places. It has been disputed whether this usage was a relic of Puritanism or a custom of Community life. In Ephraim Udall's *Communion Comelinessse* (1641) "is Discovered the convenience of the people's drawing neere to the Table in the sight thereof when they receive the Lord's Supper, with the great unfittesne of receiving it in Pewes in *London*, for the Novelty of high and close Pewes." He describes this method of administration as "a late usage." Bostock, about the same date, complains: "They sit still in their seats or pews to have the blessed Body and Blood of our Saviour go up and down to seek them all the church over." Shortly before Jeune resigned the Mastership, an undergraduate was accidentally passed over by the minister of one Species, and on November 20, 1864, the custom was abandoned. In 1898, while hot-water pipes were being laid under the Chapel floor, a skeleton was found.

CUTLER-BOULTER SCHOLARSHIP.

To return to the closing years of Dr. Panting's Mastership. In 1736 *Edmund Boulter*, of Harewood, Yorks, and Hasely Court, Oxon, left to the College £20 yearly for a Scholarship, to be called the Cutler-Boulter Scholarship, in honour of his uncle, Sir John Cutler. This is the millionaire the opening of whose will on April 20, 1693, excited so much interest (see *Luttrell's Brief Relation*, iii. 81, and *Wood's Life and Times*, iii. 409, 420). In it were bequeathed lands worth £6000 a year to the testator's daughter, the Countess of Radnor, and her issue, and failing such issue to Sir John's nephew, Mr. Boulter, who also inherited half the personal estate, about £300,000, and was executor of the will. Mr. Boulter was a member of the Grocers' Company, and elected Sheriff of London (but paid the fine) in 1694. His death was "reported" on February 19, 1708 (*Luttrell*), so that I am not sure whether he or his son was the Pembroke benefactor. The latter left money also to found the Almshouse in Oxford which bears his name. The bequest to the College was saddled with Founder's-kin preferences, and fell into Chancery, no election taking place till 1792, when the value of the Foundation was much increased.

DR. JOHN RATCLIFF ELECTED MASTER 1738.

The long Mastership of *Dr. John Ratcliff* began February 23, 1738. Two future Archbishops were bred under him during that somnolent mid-century period, and one man of first-rate eminence, *Sir William Blackstone*, the famous jurist.

BLACKSTONE.

Blackstone received his schooling at Sutton's Hospital; and, Dame Elizabeth Holford's legacy for the benefit of Carthusians having become available in 1737, he entered Pembroke as a Commoner November 30, 1738, with a view to an Exhibition. He was elected to one the following February, holding also a School Bursary. Blackstone was a diligent reader while at Oxford in various branches of knowledge, and it is to be feared that he must also be reckoned among the Singing Birds who made their nest, according to Johnson, at Pembroke. In November 1743 he was elected Fellow of All Souls. Blackstone was the first Vinerian Professor, 1758-62. The Chair was held, 1773-93, by *Richard Woodesdon, D.C.L.*, who entered Pembroke in 1759. Proctor 1776; Moral Philosophy Lecturer, 1777; Counsel to the University. On a silver beaker presented by Blackstone to Pembroke in 1754 he describes himself as "hujusce Collegii per quinquennium Commensalis et dñae Elizabethae Holford e Schola Carthusiana alumnus." With him at the College was Johnson's friend, the clerical dramatist, *William Hawkins* (matr. November 1737; Tesdale Fellow from 1742), Poetry Professor 1751-56; Bampton Lecturer 1787. He was nephew to Soame Jenyns. A minor poet, who entered, aged thirteen, in the same year as Blackstone, was one more notable in his day than ours, *Thomas Tyers* ("Tom Restless" in the *Idler*), the prince of *dilettanti*, "loved" by Johnson, of whom he wrote biographical sketches "warm from the heart." "Sir," said Johnson, "I never meet Tom but he tells me something I did not know before."

ARCHBISHOPS NEWCOME AND MOORE.

The two Archbishops just mentioned were Newcome and Moore, who were at the College together, the former as an Abingdon, the latter as a Townsend, Scholar. *William Newcome*, Archbishop of Armagh, came up to Pembroke just as England was ringing with the news from Preston Pans, and the hopes of Oxford Jacobites were eagerly excited. He owed his after advancement to able mediocrity and undistinguished virtue, and to the friendship of Charles James Fox, who was his pupil when he became a tutor of Hertford, and in rollicking with whom he broke his arm, subsequently amputated. Archbishop Newcome is chiefly remembered as a pioneer in the revision of the Authorised Version of the Bible, his efforts, however, being after his death utilised, to the indignation of his friends, by the Socinians. The face of *John Moore*, Archbishop of Canterbury, is familiar to many people from Dighton's caricature. Entering the College from Gloucester in 1744, aged fifteen, he remained there for nine years. Becoming governor to the Duke of Marlborough's sons, Moore at first experienced mortifying insults at the hands of the Duchess, but afterwards, when she became a widow, inspired an embarrassing passion in her breast, followed by the offer of her hand. In this difficult situation the handsome young man behaved with honour and prudence, which, coming to the knowledge of the third Duke, laid the foundation of Moore's fortunes, culminating in the primatial throne itself. In this great post he "avoided all other activity but that of Christian piety and spiritual duty." He gave, however, assistance

to Wilberforce's missionary and philanthropic enterprises, encouraged the new Sunday School movement (of which *Thomas Stock*, Fellow of Pembroke, a native of Gloucester, and commemorated in the Cathedral there, was co-Founder), and, though with "provoking caution" he refused to put himself at the head of the Church Missionary Society, his Primacy is rendered notable by the consecration at his hands, in 1787, of an Episcopate for America.

DURELL, VALPY, AND OTHERS.

With these two Primates *David Durell*, a Jersey-man, Orientalist and Biblical critic, was at the College. A Hebrew Lecture had been founded there by *Dr. Benjamin Slocock*, Proctor 1720. Durell became Principal of Hertford in 1757, and, while Vice-Chancellor, expelled the six Methodist students of Edmund Hall. His countryman, *Richard Valpy*, the famous Headmaster of Reading School, entered Pembroke on the Morley Foundation in 1754, together with *Jonathan Williams*, the learned Welsh divine and antiquary. In the previous year matriculated *John Lightfoot*, Fellow of the Royal and Linnæan Societies, one of those country clergymen who have given their leisure to the patient enrichment of our knowledge of nature, and *Thomas Wintle*, afterwards Tutor, a learned Biblical Scholar and Bampton Lecturer. Dr. Valpy's son, *Abraham John Valpy*, classical publisher and author, entered the College in 1805.

In 1760 there was a fire in College, but the damage was not serious.

PHILIPPS FOUNDATION.

In 1749 *one Fellowship* and *one Scholarship* for natives of Pembrokeshire, or, in default of such, of any county in South Wales, were founded by a former Gentleman-Commoner, "the Honourable *Sir John Philipps*, Bart.," of Picton Castle, M.P., D.C.L., son of that "great and good" Sir John Philipps who has been mentioned as helping Whitefield in his University career, and who took a leading part, as a layman, in the establishment of the Christian Knowledge Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the religious movement of the closing Stuart era.* For the benefit of the Philipps Fellows, who were ineligible for the Mastership and for the parsonage of St. Aldate's, Sir John gave the College the perpetual curacy of *West Haroldston* with *Lambton* in Pembrokeshire. He was described by his cousin, Horace Walpole, just after the defeat of the Young Chevalier, as "a noted Jacobite." With him had entered his brother (portions of whose Diary, kept at Oxford, are given in my larger history), *Sir Erasmus Philipps*, "an amateur and great patron of the fine arts, whose premature death"—he was drowned in the Avon, 1743—"was a loss to his

* In 1697 Sir John brought before Parliament a bill "against prophaneness and blasphemy," and punishing adultery with death. At one of the early meetings of the S.P.C.K., December 21, 1699, it was resolved "that thanks be given to Sir John Philips for the Noble and Christian Example he has shewn in refusing a Challenge after the Highest Provocation Imaginable." This refers to his having been struck, as he left the House of Commons, by Mr. Harcourt, clerk of the peace for Middlesex. Harcourt was taken into custody by the Serjeant-at-arms, and reprimanded on his knees at the bar of the House, January 26, 1700.

country." Sir John also sent to the College his son *Richard*, the first *Lord Milford*.

PHIPPS BENEFACTION.

College livings can seldom now serve the purpose of providing for officials who wish to retire, and the pension question is already a difficult one. At any rate, it is not likely that Colleges will in the future desire ecclesiastical patronage. Formerly it was otherwise. The *Rev. James Phipps*, Rector of Elvetham, near Winchfield, an old Tesdale Scholar, bequeathed at his death, in 1773, his entire fortune, viz., lands at Cowley and Littlemore, together with £3000 in the Funds, towards the purchase of *four advowsons* for the benefit of Tesdale Fellows, the increase of their stipends and those of the Tesdale Scholars and the augmentation of the chaplain's salary, the surplus, if any, to be placed in the College chest to buy books or for whatever might be of ornament or benefit to the College. The advowsons of *Coln St. Dennis*, *Ringshall*, *Lydiard Millicent* and *Sibstone*, all of substantial value, were bought out of this bequest, and in 1847 £3000 was available towards building the new Hall.

CHAPTER XV

MASTERSHIP OF DR. WILLIAM ADAMS

1775-1789

DR. RATCLIFF'S BENEFACTION.

DR. RATCLIFF died July 13, 1775, after a reign of thirty-seven years. In his will he left £1000 to found *one Exhibition* to be held for seven years by sons of Gloucestershire clergymen intended for Holy Orders, £1000 for the improvement of the College buildings, £600 to repair the prebendal house at Gloucester, £100 worth of books, and £100 for any public use approved by the Master.

DR. ADAMS ELECTED MASTER.

On July 26 the Fellows elected to the Mastership, "as a mark of respect due to his public character," though he had been absent from the College three-and-forty years, *Dr. William Adams*, Johnson's old friend, then Canon and Precentor of Llandaff and Rector of Counde, Salop. He himself was a native of Shrewsbury, of which town his father was mayor.

BRINGS JOHNSON BACK TO PEMBROKE.

His return to Oxford brought about a second close connexion of the College with her greatest son, for

Johnson, as has been already recorded, visited him there repeatedly in the last ten years of his life, and some of the most salient conversations and some of the tenderest passages recorded in the immortal Biography are connected with the Master's Lodgings. Again he wore the gown, now a Doctor's of Civil Law, in the familiar walls, pointing out to his dear Miss More this spot and that, and recalling a hundred reminiscences of his undergraduate days. "He would let no one show me the College but himself." During his visits the Chapel was usually crowded with sightseers, anxious to see the most famous writer of the age. Kneeling there, he doubtless humbly commended the souls of many of those former companions to whose names Death had prefixed his "black Theta." Under Dr. Adams's roof he was almost happy: "There was something exceedingly pleasing," writes Boswell, "in our leading a College life, without restraint and with superiour elegance, in consequence of our living in the Master's house and having the company of ladies." Miss Adams describes "delightful blue-stocking" parties. Johnson strove to be cheerful. We see him, with an old man's gallantry, jestingly offering the Master's daughter his heart, as she poured out his coffee, or talking for hours together in Latin, or in English polysyllables, with an astonishingly erudite Commoner of the College,* *John Henderson*, then (1784) aged twenty-seven, or gloomily agitated as he conversed of death and judgment to come. Cobbett rejoices, *more*

* A freshman who was admitted to this circle, *Richard Durnford*, father of the late venerable Bishop of Chichester, gives an account, which the Bishop was good enough to confirm in a letter to me, of one of these parties. *Bishop Richard Durnford* himself matriculated at Pembroke, but was elected demy of Magdalen.

suo, that "light, reason, and the French Revolution" came just in time to destroy the influence in England of the writings of "this time-serving, mean, dastardly old pensioner, old dread-death and dread-devil Johnson, that teacher of moping and melancholy."* Not unworthy, it has been better said, of an earnest soul and a robust understanding were the searchings of that passionate and afflicted heart, whose melancholia was too large, as he said, for self-torment about petty scrupulosities "while we all live together in a world that is bursting with sin and sorrow." He talked with his old friend on the subject of prayer, and out of one of these conversations arose the collection of his scattered *Prayers and Meditations*.

MS. OF THE "PRAYERS AND MEDITATIONS."

These pathetic papers, in Johnson's own hand, are perhaps the most precious possession of the College Library. He had designed to append to them an autobiographical sketch, but death, no longer dreaded, came all too soon. We could have no better revelation of the inner man than the book itself.

It is a coincidence that Gray's dearest friend was the Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, holding whose hand he died.

RELICS OF JOHNSON.

Besides the MS. of the *Prayers and Meditations*, there are in the Library two College themes by Johnson, written in Latin, either followed by a few elegiacs, a copy of his *Tracts*, in which he has written, "To Sir Joshua Reynolds from the Authour," and in which Sir

* *Rural Rides* (1886 edition), I. 48, 49.

Joshua has written his own name, a small collection of Johnson's letters and some other papers in his handwriting. Here also is the little deal desk on which the Dictionary was written, as well as another desk of Johnson's from Edial Hall, which has been in strange hands. The Library contains a bust of Johnson by Bacon, presented by Samuel Whitbread, a pencil sketch made by Johnson's permission in his old age, and an impression of his head from a seal belonging to the Rev. G. Strahan. In the Common Room hangs Reynolds's magnificent portrait of Johnson, for the possession of which the College owes ever-increasing gratitude to Mr. Andrew Spottiswoode, who gave it in 1850 in recognition of kindness showed to his son William. It was painted for Mr. Andrew Strahan, Mr. Spottiswoode's uncle, and never left the house in Shoe Lane till it was presented to Pembroke. Johnson told Dr. Adams that his picture had no right to appear among those of the Founders and Benefactors in the Hall; at the most he might aspire, perhaps, to a place in the Master's Lodgings. There is an inferior portrait of him there. The copy in the Hall of the National Gallery picture was presented a few years ago by Mr. E. J. Leveson. In the Common Room parlour is the teapot of the insatiable tea-drinker, given by the present Vice-gerent and Senior Tutor. It belonged to Charlotte Parker (*née* Bagnall), who knew Johnson well at Lichfield. Also a cider-mug used for his gruel by Johnson at Kettel Hall. Both are of Worcester china.

Dr. Adams was pleased to see his native shire elect as its Knight a Pembroke man, *Sir John Kynaston*

Powell, Bart. (B.C.L. from All Souls 1777). Sir *James Watson* (matr. 1777) represented Bridport from 1790, and was raised to the Bench in 1795.

ADAMS AND HUME.

Dr. Adams's amiable character had not prevented his engaging in controversy with Romaine on the one hand and with Hume on the other.

"Candid Adams, by whom David fell,
Who ancient miracles sustained so well."

"You have treated me much better than I deserve," said Hume when he visited him. Leland, in his *View of Deistical Writers*, makes considerable use of Adams's treatise.

CHEMISTRY—DR. BEDDOES.

His especial subject, however, was the "new science" of chemistry, in which he was "considerably deep." He took a leading part in the foundation of the Shropshire Infirmary. The year after his election to the Mastership was marked by the migration from St. John's to Pembroke of a young Salopian of great powers, *Thomas Beddoes*, father of the poet, and brother-in-law of Maria Edgeworth, himself notable as the teacher of the great Davy,* and as a chemist of daring imagination to which poetry, politics, and natural philosophy were as one. He was President of the Royal and Natural Societies of Edinburgh, and afterwards Reader in Chemistry at

* Miss Edgeworth writes from Clifton in 1799: "A young man, a Mr. Davy at Dr. Beddoes', who has applied himself much to chemistry, has made some discoveries of importance, and enthusiastically expects wonders will be performed by the use of certain gases, which inebriate in the most delightful manner."

Oxford. His eager sympathies with the French Revolutionists caused him to resign the Readership in 1792, but a short residence in France cured him of Jacobinism. His house at Clifton was the centre of a brilliant circle. "From Beddoes," wrote Southey on receiving tidings of his death, "I hoped for more good of the human race than any other individual." Coleridge declared that it had taken more out of his life than any former event. An elder brother of this poet, *Edward Coleridge*, entered the College in the same year as Beddoes; another, *George Coleridge*, in 1780. He was "father, brother, and everything" to the wayward genius, who dedicated to him the Poems of 1797.

SMITHSON AND GILBERT.

Two other considerable names in chemistry belong to this period. *James Lewis Smithson*, natural son of Sir Hugh Smithson, first Duke of Northumberland, entered in 1782 under his mother's name of *Macie*. She was "niece of Charles, the Proud Duke of Somerset," and Smithson, a republican, bragged all his life about his birth. In order that his name should "live in the memory of man when the titles of the Northumberlands and Percys are extinct and forgotten," he bequeathed a large fortune to the United States Government for the foundation of an institution, to bear his putative name, "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." Much hesitation was felt as to the acceptance of this gift. The Smithsonian Institute, however, may be proud of its founder as a man of vast scientific accomplishments, who was "for some fifty years an object of European interest to men of science." Even

as a Pembroke undergraduate (there is a portrait of him in cap, gown, and bands) he made a geological survey of the coast of Scotland. He died at Genoa in 1829. Smithson's eulogy in the Royal Society was pronounced by the President, *Dr. Davies Gilbert*, M.P. for Bodmin, who entered Pembroke as a Gentleman-Commoner in 1785. To his great scientific attainments he added those of politician, antiquary, economist and man of letters. His permanent title to fame is as the discoverer of Davy.* He found the apothecary's boy swinging on a gate in Penzance, and brought him under the notice of his fellow worker, Dr. Beddoes. The name of Gilbert came to him through a rich marriage, for his own patronymic was Giddy. A coeval of his at Pembroke was *Richard Powell*, F.R.C.P., Physician to St. Bartholomew's 1801-24. *Dr. Richard Edwards*, F.R.C.P., Lecturer in Chemistry at the same Hospital, was also at Pembroke at the same time.

A COLLEGE MYSTIC.

The decade which preceded the Revolution in France was one of great imaginative activity. From 1781 to 1786 there resided in the College a young Irishman already mentioned, alchymist, linguist, mathematician, metaphysician, divine, *John Henderson*, who, coming up from Bristol at the age of twenty-four, by his encyclopædic accomplishments and extraordinary character made before long a great impression on the Oxford and the scientific world of his day, but who, dying early and leaving nothing written behind him, has

* Davy wrote to him in 1799 as "Dear friend—for I love you too well to call you by a more ceremonious name."

been almost forgotten. Medicine, both mystical and practical, was but one of his omnisciences. Yet he seemed to probe every branch of knowledge to the bottom. "More men," he said, "become writers from ignorance than from knowledge. Let us think slowly and write late." Priestley corresponded with the learned undergraduate. Johnson conversed with him as an equal. Burke expected that he would attain some lofty summit of fame. Kennicott said of him, "The greatest men I ever knew were children compared with Henderson." Seniors were proud to be admitted to a disputation with him, and even Heads of Houses were to be found in his room. Very boyish looking, strangely dressed, his hair worn like a child's, with a grave politeness and serenity of bearing which no violence or insult could ruffle, but full of humorous fancy, this singular student "in all companies led the conversation; yet though he was perpetually encircled by admirers . . . never was his superiority oppressive. Calm, attentive and chearful, he confuted more gracefully than others compliment." None loved and admired him more than those who knew him most closely. But he had his detractors, and even his pupil Cottle, the poet publisher, in his fine "Monody to John Henderson" admits that his genius was stimulated and the pain of disease deadened by wine, while Hannah More, to whose sister Patty Henderson was probably engaged, tried in vain to wean him from the opium drug. His habits were eccentric. About daybreak, before retiring to rest, he would sluice his body and shirt at the College pump, and then turn dripping into bed, to rise some time in the afternoon. He was for ever smoking and reading.

Once he ate nothing for five days. Taking B.A. after five years' residence he left Oxford and devoted himself to mysticism. Two years later he returned to die,* November 2 (All Souls Day), 1786, his death being seen in a dream, at the moment it took place, by Mary Macie, a Bristol relative. Henderson's portrait, painted by Palmer for Hannah More, and bequeathed by Cottle in 1853 to the College, was only recently identified, and now hangs in the Common Room opposite that of Johnson, whose fame with posterity he might, had he lived, have equalled or surpassed.

An intimate of Henderson's at Pembroke was *Charles Cooté*, the eminent civilian,† together with whom entered *Maurice Swabey*, Chancellor of Rochester. *Sir John Sewell*, Vice-Admiralty Judge, matriculated in 1784; *Sir Thomas Le Breton*, whose full-length picture by Lawrence hangs in the Common Room—Attorney-General of Jersey, Bailli, and President of the States—was elected Fellow the same year. Latin Verse 1786. *Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke*, the Gloucestershire antiquary, was chosen Scholar in 1785. The famous Dr. *John Lemprière*, a Jerseyman, matriculated in 1786. The *Classical Dictionary*, remarkable as it may seem, was an undergraduate work, the preface being dated from Pembroke College, November 1788. From Lemprière Keats learned all he knew about ancient Hellas, and with the Dictionary on his knee "saw in

* Wesley writes from Bristol, September 25, 1789: "I spent an hour at Clarehill with Mr. Henderson, I believe the best physician for lunatics in England, but he could not save the life of his only son, who was probably taken to bring his father to God."

† Grandfather (?) of *Charles Thomas Cooté*, Fellow, Radcliffe's Travelling Fellow 1849.

vision in suburban Hampstead the Argive heights and the bounteous meadows of Enna." The name of *Dr. Thomas Sikes* of Guilsborough has recently become interesting in connexion with the Oxford Movement, between which and the older High-churchmanship the Hackney school was a link. A striking prediction written to W. J. Copeland, editor of Newman's *Sermons*, by this saintly and learned man is recorded by Dr. Pusey in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The suppression of one article of the Creed, the "Holy Catholick Church," would, he said, revenge itself at a later time, when men will hear of nothing else. "Our confusion nowadays is chiefly owing to the want of it; and there will be yet more confusion attending its revival. The effects of it I even dread to contemplate. And woe betide those who shall, in the course of Providence, have to bring it forward. . . . They will be endlessly misunderstood and misinterpreted. There will be one great outcry of Popery from one end of the country to the other. It will be thrust on minds unprepared, and on an uncatechised Church."

FRANCIS WIGHTWICK FOUNDATION.

A tutor under Dr. Adams, *John Vinicombe*, whose sombre but handsome presentment, by Opie, hangs in the Common Room, and who bequeathed £50 for books for the Library, had an awful end. He was found burned almost to ashes on the Common Room floor. In the Common Room parlour are two Wightwick pictures. These were bequeathed in reversion, together with books, a valuable collection of silver, and landed estate, for the support of *four Fellows and two Scholars*,

by *Francis Wightwick*, Esq., of Wombridge House, Lawrence-Waltham, Berks,* descended from Humphry Wightwick, the co-Founder's cousin. He died in 1783, but the College did not enjoy the bequest till 1843.

PORTRAIT OF DR. ADAMS.

The portrait of Dr. Adams in the Hall was presented by *Mr. Frederick Barlow de Sausmarex* (Scholar 1868-1873; H.M. Inspector of Schools 1877), and is a copy of an Opie in the possession of Mr. F. A. Hyett, of Painswick House, Gloucestershire, who also has a pencil sketch of Johnson made by Miss Adams at the Master's House. Miss Adams married, in 1788, Mr. Benjamin Hyett (*vide supra*, p. 194).

APPENDIX.

MANUSCRIPT OF JOHNSON'S "MEDITATIONS."

The following observations from a review (*Guardian*, November 18, 1897) of *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, edited by Dr. Birkbeck Hill (in which volumes Dr. Hill "crowns the great structure which he has raised in honour of Johnson"), are worth reprinting:

"The character of his inner life, as revealed in his *Prayers and Meditations*, has, a thousand times over, been condemned as morbid, and perhaps biography offers no sadder example of the power of a particular set of opinions rigidly held as the absolute and final truth to stunt the sympathies of a naturally tender heart than the

* See Hearne's *Collections* (ed. Rannie), Oxf. Hist. Soc. iv. 218.

language which Cowper employed on the first appearance of this collection :

“ ‘ His prayers for the dead, and his minute account of the rigour with which he observed Church fasts, whether he drank tea or coffee, whether with sugar or without, and whether one or two dishes of either, are the most important items to be found in this childish register of the great Johnson, supreme dictator in the chair of literature, and almost a driveller in his closet.’ ”

“ It is so that one Christian sufferer, whose own despondency and despair are a theme in all the Churches, can write of another who in the sight and with the help of high Heaven was struggling manfully against the same dreadful enemy, not in retired ease and leisure, nor always amid cheering friends, but for the most part in the storm and stress of a battle for bare existence, waged often in solitude, apart even from the wife whom he always saw, in her lifetime, in that illusion of affection which has been a fertile theme of mockery to those who have chosen to forget that such illusions are the first condition of all wedded happiness ; and, after her death, in visions (amid tears and prayers), less impressive, perhaps, but quite as pathetic as that wherein Milton beheld ‘ his late-espoused saint.’ As for the ‘ childish register,’ it will be ages before the whole world is agreed on the value of asceticism ; but it will still remain that many a great soul has believed in asceticism and practised it ; and the details of such practice will easily seem ridiculous.

“ His trembling desire to pray for the beloved dead, checked only by a humble reverence for the system in which he had been trained, what feeling heart is now inclined to mock ? It was only a part of that great

desiderium which is sooner or later the common lot. While Wordsworth writes :

“ ‘Surprised by joy—impatient as the wind,
I wished to share the transport—oh, with whom
But thee, long buried in the silent tomb,’

Johnson has recorded :

“ ‘When I recollect the time in which we lived together, my grief for her departure is not abated, and I have less pleasure in any good that befalls me, because she does not partake it. On many occasions I think what she would have said or done. When I saw the sea at Brighthelmston, I wished for her to have seen it with me.’

“ ‘These ideals, these memories, are beautiful, whatever the crude realities may have been. And picture the sage, with his rugged and venerable face bowed at the altar, ‘struck’ as he received ‘with tender images,’ and so ‘mollified’ by the concluding address to our Saviour that he could not utter it. Such things are worthy of reverent comment, if not of sacred silence.’

CHAPTER XVI

MASTERSHIPS OF DR. WILLIAM SERGROVE,
1789-1796; DR. JOHN SMYTH, 1796-1809;
AND DR. GEORGE WILLIAM HALL,
1809-1843

DR. SERGROVE ELECTED.

DR. ADAMS died January 13, 1789. The inscription to his memory in Gloucester Cathedral is given in Boswell. His successor, *Dr. William Sergrove*, elected January 28, 1789, was a Tesdale-kin Fellow, and had been Rector of St. Aldate's. He died April 16, 1796, at the age of forty-nine, and his short Mastership, though those were troublous years for Europe, left little mark on the history of the College. In 1789 £100 was lent gratuitously to the Bodleian to buy books, no doubt from the libraries of *émigrés*. In 1792 £20 was voted for the relief of the French refugee clergy. In 1794 forty guineas was contributed from the College Bag for the internal defence of the kingdom. Towards the Johnson monument, now in St. Paul's, but intended for the Abbey, twenty guineas were subscribed. In 1792 £148 was voted for Chapel repairs.

DR. SMYTH ELECTED MASTER 1796.

To the Mastership was elected, April 28, 1796, *Dr. John Smyth*, an Abingdonian, Rector of St. Aldate's from 1789. Dr. Smyth had been a naval chaplain, and, being addicted to travellers' tales, was styled in the University "Sinbad the Sailor." The tradition that his real name, laid aside because of its unpopularity, was Cromwell rests only on the circumstances that his father's sister, Mary Revett, was married to a Colonel Russell, great-grandson of the Protector, and that there were reasons for concealing, even from himself, his parentage. He died October 19, 1809, bequeathing to the College a reversionary interest, amounting, in 1831, to about £10,000, for the purchase of one or more *advowsons* for the benefit of Fellows to whose foundation none should be appropriated. The valuable living of *Brinkworth*, Wilts, was acquired in 1831 with part of this sum. The portrait of Dr. Smyth in the Hall was painted after his death by Howard from Dighton's caricature, and looks itself like one. He was a man of very strong character, and a considerable authority on music. He is buried in Exeter Cathedral, but has a monument at Gloucester, on which learning, courtesy, and piety are ascribed to him, and he is said to have been "*Collegio ob munificentiam carissimus.*"

James Sedgwick, politician, entered in 1797. As Chairman of the Board of Stamps he conducted an inquiry into the Scottish revenue collection, and laid bare great abuses. Falling foul of Lord Liverpool's Government, Sedgwick was refused in 1826 his pension, and for the remainder of his life waged a newspaper

war with the Administration. For two years (1807-8) he was editor of the *Oxford Review*. In 1800 entered the elder *Charles Kingsley*, Rector of Clovelly and of St. Luke's, Chelsea, a muscular Christian of the unaffected and pre-priggish type, from whom his famous son "inherited his love of art, his sporting tastes, his fighting blood." "Endowed with many noble gifts of mind and body"—so runs his epitaph composed by his son—"he preserved, through all vicissitudes of fortune, a loving heart and stainless honour." *Sir Arthur Brooke Faulkner*, F.R.C.P., Physician to H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, and to the Forces in the Peninsular War, took M.A. and M.D. from Pembroke in 1806. Towards the close of this Mastership entered *Walter Mayers*, the simple and reverent-minded Evangelical clergyman who gave John Henry Newman, his pupil at Ealing, his first deep religious impressions. It was by his advice that Newman sought Holy Orders, and probably through him he had gone to Oxford instead of Cambridge. Newman preached his friend's funeral sermon in 1828. Of Mayers's time was *James Gateward Davis*, Bishop of Antigua 1842-57.

In 1797 the narrow way in front of Pembroke was paved by the College, and also Beef Lane. In 1808 £460 was spent on building repairs. £100 was contributed in 1798 for the prosecution of the war.

DR. HALL ELECTED MASTER 1809.

Dr. George William Hall, uncle of the Kennedys, was elected Master November 2, 1809. At the Chelsea house of his father, the eminent engraver, he had known Garrick, Sheridan, Linley, West, Richardson and

Burney, and retained through life literary tastes and social talents. In Gloucester he was a considerable civic force. Francis Galton speaks of Dr. Hall's classical attainments. Croker regarded him as joint editor of his *Boswell*. To the College Library—his own was unusually large—he contributed, with other books, the Logbook of the *Victory*. He had a strong Vice-gerent in *Charles Wightwick* (Proctor 1812), whose portrait by Sir Martin Shee is in the Bursary. Mr. Wightwick was engaged to be married for forty years, till in 1840 the benefice of Codford St. Peter, Wilts, purchased in 1820 for £3000 for the benefit of Wightwick Fellows, became vacant for the first time. He was presented, but the next year accepted Brinkworth. Some other Dons of this time were *John Sheffield Cox*, descended from John, Duke of Buckingham, the typical old-style Senior Fellow; *William Beach Thomas*, an excellent scholar; *Archdeacon George Hough*, a pioneer in the Mission field; and *Richard French Lawrence*, Bodley's Sub-librarian 1822.

BICENTENARY OF THE COLLEGE 1824.

Dr. Hall was Vice-Chancellor 1820–24—the first time that this honour had fallen to Pembroke—and attended George IV.'s Coronation. In 1824 the College was about to celebrate its Bicentenary, and for a year or two before alterations were taking place in the old dining-hall, on which and on other alterations nearly £2000 was spent, raised (except £450) by subscription. June 29, 1824, the two-hundredth anniversary of the constitution of Broadgates Hall into a College, was observed as “a grand Gaudy or day of rejoicing,” and, this day coinciding with Dr. Hall's last Encænïa, in

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the morning the noblemen, Doctors, Proctors and other members of the University met in the newly embellished Refectory, and attended him thence in state to the Theatre, while in the evening the Society gave "a sumptuous entertainment" in the same apartment, a Latin oration being delivered by *Edmund Goodenough Bayly*, the senior Tesdale-kin Scholar. It was he who in 1836, as Proctor, vetoed, "amidst shouts, groans, and shrieks such as no deliberative assembly probably ever heard," the proceedings against Dr. Hampden.

TWO ECCENTRIC POETS.

Among the juniors present, I suppose, at this festival, were two young poets who may be regarded as typically representing the opposed revolutionary and mediævalising movements of the closing Georgian era. One was *Thomas Lovell Beddoes* (matr. 1820), who had been committed by Dr. Beddoes to Davies Gilbert's guardianship. He is described by Barry Cornwall in this year 1824 as "innocently gay, with a gibe always on his tongue, a mischievous eye, and locks curling like the hyacinth," and his only happy days were those spent at Pembroke; but he had already produced the *Bride's Tragedy*, *Love's Arrow Poisoned*, and other morbidly imaginative poetry of the Shelley-Byron kind, and had planned "a very Gothic-styled tragedy," by which his name is best known, *Death's Jest Book*. The mocking gloom, republican rants, and rebellious dean-defiance of the undergraduate of the First-Gentleman-in-Europe period usually subsided after B.A. and M.A. But with Beddoes, though he took both these degrees, the melancholy posing of youth was the prelude to a brief

career of fierce warfare with European society, terminating, it is now known, in self-destruction. Mr. Gosse has lately edited his *Letters*—"a duty laid upon me by the late Mr. Robert Browning." Not less eccentric than Beddoes, though his lifelong eccentricity was rather whimsical than lurid, was *Robert Stephen Hawker*, afterwards Vicar of Morwenstowe, and remembered almost more by his extraordinary personality than by his religious and romantic poetry. But Hawker's mad humour was, to tell the truth, rather put on, for the man was vain of his reputation. His poetical work, on the other hand, was quite genuine, "steeped in the atmosphere of old dreams and early mysteries, profoundly and passionately musical." Hawker migrated from Pembroke to Magdalen Hall early in 1825 under the following circumstances. Learning from his father, then Curate of Stratton, that he could no longer afford to keep him at College, he ran off hatless to Bude and asked his godmother, Miss Charlotte Fans, to be his wife. She was aged forty-one and had £200 a year. The lady returned with him to Oxford as his bride, riding behind her young husband on a pillion. Hawker's principal friend at Pembroke was Jeune, who used to stay with him in Cornwall, joining in his extravagant pranks. Hawker won the *Pompeii* Newdigate in 1827. Some of his extraordinary letters are in the library.

Of nearly the same date at the College were two lawyers, *John Gervas Hutchinson Bourne*, Chief Justice of Newfoundland (Fellow of Magdalen 1828, d. 1845), and *George Morley Dowdeswell*, Recorder of Newbury and Treasurer of the Inner Temple. *James White*, an historical and miscellaneous writer, entered in 1823.

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Prebendary Charles Mackenzie, Founder of the City of London College, was Scholar 1825-33. *William Robert Browell*, who entered in 1824, became Tutor of the College. He was brother-in-law of an able man, *Henry Baskerville Walton*, co-editor of Edward VI.'s First Prayer Book. Walton went to Merton to be Fellow, Tutor, and Dean.

In 1829 *John Jackson*, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln and of London, was sent by Dr. Valpy to the College. He was in the famous First Class which contained the names of Liddell, Scott, Lowe, and Canning. As a private tutor in Oxford, Jackson had countless pupils. A year his junior at Pembroke was *Henry Mackenzie*, in whose person the office of Bishop Suffragan (of Nottingham) was first revived. *Octavius Hadfield*, Bishop of Wellington 1870-93, Primate of New Zealand 1889-93, entered in 1832. His brother, *George Horatio Hadfield*, was Fellow from 1837 to 1844. The present venerable Principal—the last one—of St. Mary Hall, *Dr. Drummond Percy Chase*, was President of the Union Society in 1842.

REBUILDING OF THE OLD QUADRANGLE, 1829.

An important event in Dr. Hall's Mastership was the architectural transformation of the *Old Quadrangle*. The Perpendicular oriel of the present Library was thrown out as early as 1821, one year after the rebuilding of Carfax Church.* In 1829 the example of revived domestic Gothic was set on a large scale to other colleges by the rebuilding of the Pembroke Quadrangle in that taste; or rather the seventeenth-century

* The "Gothic" of St. Ebbe's dates, however, from 1814.

walls, exterior and interior, were re-faced and masked by mediæval masonry of Bath stone. The Tower and Master's Lodgings were treated in the same way. Of course it is a great pity it was done. Our grandfathers, with lavish zeal and expenditure, built sepulchres, and we stone their memories for having made such a mistake. Yet we all, even in this enlightened age, belong to our generation and act up to our lights. Pembroke might now seem to have, except the Grecian Chapel, no buildings older than the present century. But the frontage is not unpleasing. The Gateway oriel, imitated from John of Gaunt's palace at Lincoln, is ascribed to the taste of the Rev. C. Cleoburey, one of the Fellows. The detail is, however, already in a state of decay. The inside of the Quadrangle has been, it must be confessed, robbed of all its character and charm, especially since the introduction, I think when Page was Bursar, of sash windows, but creepers have lately been allowed to cover the walls. Perhaps grass, with wooden posts and chains, might be placed here, as at Jesus College.

PROJECTED FRONTAGE TO THE EAST.

Although the prints by Skelton (1831) and Mackenzie (1836) show the frontage and exterior eastern side of the Quadrangle as completed, it may be noticed that at the north-east corner is carved a bust of the youthful Queen with the date 1838. In fact the east side was left unfinished till that year, in the prospect of the demolition of the half-roofless Wolsey Spital—"a few ruinous almshouses"—in order to give Pembroke a handsome front to the road, and enable the *façade* of Christ Church to be seen to advantage. The site was

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to be planted with grass and shrubs. The Master and Fellows of Pembroke entered into negotiations with Christ Church for this purpose, and offered, should the consent of the Crown be obtained for the removal of the Almshouse, to furnish a plot of ground at Cowley on which it might be rebuilt. This demolition was a favourite project with the *cognoscenti* of the day, and had been suggested as far back as 1773 in Dr. Tatham's *Oxonia Explicata et Ornata*. Fortunately the negotiation fell through, and the old building was preserved, and, "with a view to great improvements projected in this part of the city," restored and somewhat altered in 1834 from the designs of Mr. Underwood, who set it back, and remodelled it, on the north side so as to be nearly in a line with the new front of Pembroke. In that year, at a cost of £2500, raised by subscription, the four ancient tenements standing at the east and south-east of St. Aldate's Churchyard were bought up and removed,* the high churchyard wall superseded by iron railings, and the walk in front of the College relaid. The College could now be seen from the street, and for the first time carriages could drive up to the entrance without difficulty. To these improvements picturesqueness was, of course, sacrificed. Turner would hardly now sketch this corner.†

BOAT CLUB FORMED 1841.

In 1841 the *Boat Club* was formed, chiefly through the efforts of *Martin Joseph Routh*, first Sheppard

* The house which stood at the north-east, next Penyfarding Street, was cleared away in 1831. It was called "Church House."

† See the Turner water-colour No. 805 in the National Gallery.

Fellow (1846-74). The boat started twelfth, and made six bumps in its first year, Payne-Smith, afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity, rowing in it.

ECCLESIASTICAL UNREST.

There is not much more to record about Dr. Hall's Mastership, though, closing in 1843, its latter years were a time of much ecclesiastical movement and unrest. A young tutor of Pembroke was in 1833 announced by Newman in a letter to Froude as "joining heartily" the High-church cause. This was Francis Jeune! In 1840 an able Bible-clerk from Guernsey seceded to the Roman Communion. *Sir Peter Le Page Renouf* afterwards attained eminence as one of our greatest Egyptologists and Assyriologists. *Edward Garbett*, Boyle Lecturer 1860-63, Bampton Lecturer 1867, an eloquent Low-church preacher and leader, migrated to Brasenose as Scholar in 1837. In that year *Robert Payne-Smith*, the eminent Evangelical Dean, one of our profoundest students of the ancient languages of the East, entered on the Townsend foundation. Boden Scholarship 1840; Pusey and Ellerton 1843; Regius Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church 1865; Dean of Canterbury, where the new nave pulpit has been erected to his memory, 1871. In his undergraduate days Payne-Smith was not uninfluenced by the Tractarian movement. A year or two his senior at the College was *Charles Adolphus Row* (Scholar 1834-38), whose Bampton of 1877 went through six editions. He was a Low-churchman, but Christian evidences engaged his controversial powers. Oriental and Biblical studies at Oxford have been fostered by the Prizes

GEORGE WILLIAM HALL, MASTER 225

founded by the *Rev. Henry (Hall) Houghton*, Scholar 1841–45. He gave £4500 to the Church Missionary Society for the promotion of the linguistic study of Holy Scripture. I should have mentioned that the first Boden Sanskrit Scholar (1833) was the well-known Abingdon Headmaster (1839–68), *William Alder Strange* (Abingdon Scholar, 1829–37). A vigorous anti-Tractarian was *Dr. John Stedman* (matr. 1806), the author of a Latin brochure, published in 1841, *Erasmi Roterodami ad Gregorium XVI. Pont. Epistola Singularis*.

CHAPTER XVII

MASTERSHIP OF DR. FRANCIS JEUNE, 1843-1864

A DISPUTED ELECTION TO THE MASTERSHIP.

ON December 22, 1843, the Fellows, by the casting vote of the Vice-gerent, elected as Master the most famous of modern Jerseymen, the *Very Rev. Dr. Francis Jeune*, Morley Scholar 1822; D.C.L. 1834; Ossulston Fellow 1832-7; Tutor 1828-32; Public Examiner 1834; Headmaster of King Edward's School, Birmingham, 1834; Dean of Jersey and Rector of St. Helier's 1838. Jeune was at one time tutor to the sons of the Governor-General of Canada, Sir John Colborne (Lord Seaton), who commanded the 52nd Foot at Waterloo, Lieut.-Governor of Guernsey. Jeune's advent to power was dreaded by both classes of Conservatives, the anti-reformers and the Puseyites, and the validity of the election of an Ossulston Fellow was contested by the defeated party in the College. The Duke of Wellington somewhat summarily deciding on January 29, 1844, in favour of an *ex parte* statement, the Rev. *Charles Frederick Parker*, Rector of Ringshall, for whom the minority had voted, thereby became Master, but could not be presented by the Vice-gerent to the Visitor for ad-

mission, part of the successful contention of his supporters having been that Mr. Henney, not being "one of the Senior Fellows," was not legally Vice-gerent. A third contention was that the vote of Mr. Evan Evans, afterwards Master, was invalid, he being a Philipps Fellow. Dr. Jeune's side, however, were not disposed to acquiesce in this result, and sent a statement of their case to the Duke, who finally, on April 13, after taking counsel's opinion, reversed his previous decision, directing that both decisions should be recorded in the College archives as a warning to himself and his successors in the office of Visitor against precipitancy in judging. The question whether the right of electing and being elected to the Mastership was confined to Fellows of the original double foundation, which at one time supplied the source of the Master's stipend, had never previously been formally debated.

REFORM.

Dr. Jeune's period of office was a very eventful one both for the University and the College. No one played a larger part than he in the transformation of the University from a mediæval to a modern institution, and no College was more in the clasp of the *manus mortua* of pious benefactors and founders than Pembroke. The struggle was bound to be a bitter one. The break with old ideals, granting its necessity, could not but involve loss in the substitution of secular for religious institutions, and in the jettison of much that was valuable, picturesque and human. Whether the inevitable changes could not have been carried out more durably and constructively had the leading spirits of reform

been men more sympathetic with the past and less hostile to the new awakening of ecclesiastical thought and emotion, may be suggested for consideration. Certainly the remorseless Liberalism of that time was embodied in the new Master of Pembroke.

NEW BUILDINGS.

But the hour of University Reform had not yet struck. Jeune's earliest work was to double the College buildings. In 1843 the Francis Wightwick foundation of four Fellows and three Scholars had taken effect, and within a year or two of Dr. Jeune taking office the matriculations were equal in number to those of any but the very largest Colleges. In the first twelvemonth of his Mastership he took in hand a plan, previously mooted, for the erection opposite the Chapel of a range of rooms for Fellows and undergraduates, together with a Senior Common Room and Bursary. To do this he demolished the ancient halls called the *Back Lodgings*. The work was begun in the spring of 1845 and finished in the following year, the contract price being £5287, of which the greater part was supplied from the Ratcliff and Smyth bequests. £400 was given by the Master on condition that the Ossulston Fellows should be entitled, like the rest, to rooms free of rent. The rest was raised by subscription. The handsome carved furniture of the Common Room was given by the tutorial staff.

NEW DINING HALL.

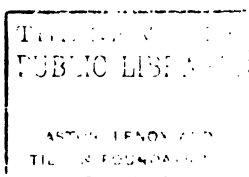
Hardly was this work finished when, in October 1846, the poorly endowed College resolved to build a new



From a photograph by the

THE NEW HALL. (A.D. 1821)

(Oxford Camera Club



Dining Hall and attendant offices, and to renovate the east end of the "New Court" and the west side of the Master's Lodgings. The Hall was contracted for in March 1847 for about £5000, of which £3000 came from the Phipps fund. This and the New Buildings were designed by Sir Charles Barry's nephew and pupil, Charles Hayward, the Exeter architect. The latter are certainly rather unimaginative and featureless. But the Hall, especially the fine-timbered roof, is a very creditable specimen of Early Victorian Gothic. It has been suggested that Mr. Hayward had the hall of Burleigh House (c. 1580) in memory.

THE OLD GARDENS OBLITERATED.

The Old Gardens were at this time destroyed, and a large plot of grass laid down. The battlemented wall on the Chapel side of the Court was built. The present passage from the Old Quadrangle, made in 1821, was widened, communication with the Back Lodgings having in old times taken place by a passage close to the janitor's lodge.

COMMENSALES.

Shortly before the migration from the Old Hall (in which room the Manciple's slate still hangs as a reminder of its former employment) the commissariat system of the College was put on a new footing. Under 1845 is recorded the discontinuance of "payment for trenchers" and "fork-money." In 1848 *Robert Paul Bent* introduced the pleasant mess system of dining, which has been recently modified. Men coming from the same

schools were natural *commensales*, and there was much local sodality and kindness between those so associated.

THE TIE TO LOCALITIES.

The being tied to certain schools and localities, however, hampered the efficiency of this more than of other Colleges. A system adapted to the seventeenth was not suited to the nineteenth century. For some time before Jeune's Mastership the College had been chafing at the restrictions imposed on it, and resolved to admit to place and emolument none who were insufficient in learning. Between 1836 and 1849 a number of candidates from favoured schools were rejected; sometimes there was conflict and appeal to the Visitor. More than once a Fellow was refused re-election. The Townsend foundation had been especially abused.

REFORMING COMMISSION.

In September, 1850, the reforming Royal Commission was appointed, with Jeune as one of its seven members, and the most unremitting in attendance. A number of Colleges refused to acknowledge the authority of the Commission, but Pembroke naturally was not one of these. The proposals made for the College in the Commissioners' Report were as follows:—The Master to receive a fixed stipend. The federal constitution of the College to be abolished, all the foundations being placed on a footing of equality. The Fellows to be ten only, with a larger stipend, obliged to celibacy but not to Holy Orders or to proceed B.D. Oaths on admission to become unlawful, and the rules about Chapel attendance to be relaxed; obsolete disciplinary and

sumptuary regulations and those regarding the course of study to be repealed. Scholarships, fixed all alike at the third of a Fellow's stipend, to be thrown open, except five reserved for Abingdon School—a proposal which, as the Scholarships would be of higher value, would really be advantageous to the school, the number of boys elected thence between 1820 and 1850 not having exceeded twenty-two.

THE COLLEGE DESIRES A PRIVATE ACT.

Such were the Commissioners' proposals. Had the College power to enact them? In reply to the Earl of Derby, its Visitor, the Society resolved, on June 3, 1853, that it had not the power. At the same time it indicated still more sweeping changes as desirable, chiefly the freeing of Fellowships and Scholarships from all restrictions whatsoever, no reservation being made in favour of Abingdon. It considered that the College ought to receive powers from the Legislature to alter its Statutes. Lord Derby, in response, deprecated such entire setting aside of the intentions of Founders, but would co-operate with the College in throwing open Fellowships and in other reforms, "as far as can be done consistently with the maintenance of good faith." Lord John Russell wrote on June 15 that the Government could not so late in the Session introduce the *privilegium* which the College desired, but encouraged the Master and Fellows to formulate their plan. He enclosed a letter from Mr. Gladstone, who considered that, if Parliament was to be asked to grant an Act to a single College, the scheme of reform must be thorough and complete, and urged that open elections would

necessitate an appeal, or at least the Visitor's consent. "In the long run a self-elected body wants in some form or other a check of this kind." Fellowships to which no conditions of residence attached should be terminable, he thought, after a certain number of years. Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Master in the same sense, regretting that a private Bill could not be passed that Session. "I cannot but hope that your College would have set such an excellent example, and in such a case much depends on the '*prærogativa tribus*.' One College doing the thing well will be of far more use to Oxford than lame and half-hearted attempts from half a dozen."

"PRÆROGATIVA TRIBUS."

There the matter stood for a time. The Colleges looked askance at the designs of the Government, and neither would nor could do anything to advance them. The leading Whig quarterly in January, 1854, said :

"The Government has announced that it will only wait a short time to see whether the Universities are themselves disposed to introduce the required changes. . . . The attempts made to open any Fellowships have as yet been very faint. Pembroke College in Oxford, indeed, of which one of the Commissioners is Master, and which is most miserably depressed by close Fellowships, has tried to move. But if Pembroke has Dr. Jeune for its Master it has Lord Derby for its Visitor."

On June 21, 1854, the Master and Fellows addressed a petition to Parliament praying for a general removal of restrictions, and especially for release from "the controul of a small municipal corporation" and from

“foreign intervention” in the election of Fellows and Scholars.

NEW LATIN STATUTES DRAFTED.

On August 7 of this year Royal Commissioners were appointed to frame Ordinances for the Colleges. Pembroke, however, like Exeter, Lincoln, and Corpus Christi, was indisposed to accept reform in this shape. On November 22 the Society put its seal to a new body of Latin Statutes framed by itself, to be submitted to the Commissioners for their sanction. The Master was to be in Holy Orders, so long as the Gloucester stall should be annexed to his office, but no Fellow was to be required to be ordained, though all were to be celibate. They were, however, to be “*Ecclesiae Anglicanae fidem amplectentes*,” and errors repugnant to good morals or the Christian faith were in all members of the College punishable. Besides a large number of lesser changes, Founders’ kin was abolished, but six Tesdale and two Wightwicke Scholarships were to be reserved for Abingdon School, three Rous Exhibitions for Eton, and two Holford Exhibitions for Charterhouse. Fellows were to be chosen for excellence not only in Latin and Greek or Moral Philosophy, but in Mathematics, Physical Science, and other good arts, as intended by King James’s Charter.

MRS. SHEPPARD’S FOUNDATION.

A sign of the times was the benefaction, a few years before this, on May 7, 1846, of £12,000 Bank Annuities given by Mrs. *Sophia Sheppard*, sister of Dr. Martin Routh and widow of the Rev. Thomas

Sheppard, D.D., of Amport, Hants, sometime Fellow of Magdalen, to support *two unmarried Fellows* who should *study Law or Medicine*, without being bound to residence. "The first idea," Mrs. Sheppard wrote, "of endowing Lay Fellowships and offering them to Pembroke College, arose from hearing that a young man must take Holy Orders or lose his Fellowship."

CLEOBUREY FOUNDATION.

Money was also bequeathed under the will, made in 1855, of the *Rev. Christopher Cleoburey*, Fellow 1820-56, for the support, on a hitherto unprecedented scale, of an *open Scholar*, to receive in money and books not more than £160 a year, and for *prizes* for First-Classmen, not only in "*Literis Humanioribus*" but also "in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*." But this and other bequests of Mr. Cleoburey did not fall to the College till 1882.

ORDINANCES OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

The Commissioners did not disapprove the new Statutes, but drafted an Ordinance of their own (in English), which was not before the College convention for consideration till November 5, 1856. The Master and Fellows entertained "strong objections" to several of its provisions, especially to the maintenance of the Gloucestershire and the Channel Island connexions—it is fair, however, to recall that it was a close Morley Exhibition which brought Dr. Jeune to Pembroke—and to compulsory residence being required of the Fellows. They disliked the intrusion into a complete and harmonious code, drawn up by the College itself, of

an ordinance in a different language and impossible to fuse with the rest. Finally, "this Convention regrets that the College should have been deprived of the honour of effecting its own reforms." The final Ordinances of the Commissioners, dated February 19, 1857, retained the Channel Island connexion, but converted the King Charles I. Fellowship into Scholarships, preserved the rights of the Gloucestershire Schools, and of Eton and Charterhouse, and assigned five Scholarships at least to Abingdon, with no preference for Founders' kin, the other Fellowship and Scholarship foundations being consolidated. The Fellows, ten in number, and elected without restriction, were to have equal rights, the Scholars to receive not less than £50 a year and rooms. Should there be not more than eight Fellows, four were to be in Holy Orders; if from nine to eleven, five; if from twelve to sixteen, six. Professor-Fellows to be allowed to marry, if permitted by a two-thirds vote. The others to be celibate. The other changes were like those effected in the University generally. An amusing account is given in Mr. Augustus Hare's *Story of My Life*, vol. ii. pp. 5, 6, of the election of the last Tesdale-kin Scholar, *George Sheffield*, son of Sir Robert Sheffield, of Normanby. The last Gentleman-Commoner was *Thomas Collings Bréhaut*, a Guernseyman.

ATTENDANCE AT CHAPEL RELAXED.

Soon after the enactment of the above changes, a bye-law of the College relaxed the regulations respecting attendance at Chapel. An order made in 1772 had fixed the contribution for the relief of the poor to be made by those who, without leave, were absent from the

celebration of the Sacrament at the following sums. Gentlemen-Commoners, 5*s.*; Commoners, Scholars, and Bachelors, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Servitors, 1*s.* Jeune is said to have announced in Chapel that in future no member of the College would be compelled *judicium sibi manducare et bibere*.

ALUMNI.

Contemporaries, or almost coëtanean, at the College in the earlier years of Jeune's Mastership were (besides others mentioned elsewhere), *George Rolleston*, afterwards Fellow and Honorary Fellow, Linacre Professor of Physiology 1860–81, whose portrait in the Bursary was presented by Professor Goldwin Smith; *James Octavius Ryder*, a Bible-clerk who became Fellow of All Souls (Ellerton Theological Essay 1850); he laid down his life among his fever-stricken people at Welwyn, Herts, April 24, 1870; *John William Caldicott*, afterwards Tutor at Jesus College, Head Master of Bristol School, 1860–83; *Philip Hedgeland*, Prebendary of Exeter; *Arthur Locker*, editor of the *Graphic*, 1870–91, brother of Frederick Locker-Lampson; *Albert Barff*, the well-known Vicar of St. Giles', Cripplegate, who stroked the Eight in, I think, 1850, *Henry de Wint Burrup*, who laid down a young life as a missionary pioneer in Africa, rowing bow; *Samuel Flood-Jones*, Precentor of Westminster Abbey from 1869, President of Sion College; *George Gainsford*, Vicar, from 1865, of St. Saviour's, Hitchin; *John Cordy-Jeaftreson*, author and journalist; *Henry Chandler* (of whom more hereafter); *Edward Redman Orger*, Sub-Warden of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 1866–80; *Charles FitzWil-*

liam Cadiz, Puisne Judge at Natal, 1876; *James William Williams*, Bishop of Quebec, 1863-92. Prebendary Barff, Canon Hedgeland, Mr. Gainsford, Mr. Cordy-Jeaffreson, and Mr. Orger are, happily, still able to supply reminiscences of that half-century ago, some of which I have put down in my larger History. Archdeacon *Henry Rudge Hayward*, Fellow 1858-64, entered in 1849.

PRE-RAPHAELITE BROTHERHOOD.

A few years later there was a striking group of young men at Pembroke, who had come thither from Birmingham, in Dr. Jeune's wake, and through whom a movement so alien to Jeune's own cast of mind as Pre-Raphaelitism was in part associated with this College.* These were *William Fulford*, the poet,† editor of the short-lived *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, which was first projected at a meeting in Dr. Hill's rooms in the New Court; *Charles Joseph Faulkner* ("Citizen Faulkner"), Fellow and Tutor of University, associated afterwards in business with William Morris; *Richard Watson Dixon*, sacred poet and ecclesiastical historian, now Honorary Fellow of the College, who has given an account of those College days in Mr. Mackail's *Life of Morris*; *Edwin Hatch*, the eminent Broad-church theologian, also himself a writer of religious verse, de-

* Not "aere perennius" is the monument of themselves which the Pre-Raphaelites have left on the ceiling of the Union

—"artless challenger of decay."

† Author of *Songs of Life* (1859), *Saul* (1862), &c. In 1864, an advertising firm offering prizes of 100 guineas for the best three poems in honour of Shakespeare's tercentenary, Fulford took the first prize with twelve sonnets of great beauty.

scribed by the Public Orator at the 1890 Encaenia as a student of such originality "ut non modo nostratium verum etiam fastidiosae Teutonum gentis admirationem moveret"; and *George Birkbeck Hill*, Honorary Fellow of Pembroke, whose laborious devotion, diverted from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, has left nothing for future editors of Johnson to accomplish. *Dr. Edward Moore*, now Principal of St. Edmund Hall, and also an Honorary Fellow of the College, was of this time (matr. 1853), and so great a Dante scholar should surely have belonged to this Brotherhood; but I believe it was not so. *Prebendary Richard Macgregor Grier*, the well-known Midland parish-priest, was of the same date; also three men of letters, *Tom Hood* the younger, *Thomas Hog Girtin*, and the *Rev. Compton Reade*, nephew of the novelist. I do not know if *John Oxenham Bent*, who since 1851 has been *Pembrochianissimus*, was ever a Pre-Raphaelite. Stranger transformations have taken place! The present Master was admitted Scholar in 1851; President of the Union Society in 1857.

In the remaining years of Dr. Jeune's Mastership matriculated *William Thomas Thornhill Webber* (1856), since 1885 Bishop of Brisbane; *Samuel John Stone* (1858), writer of "The Church's One Foundation," and other poems and hymns known on every continent, recently described as "a singer on whose shoulders the mantle of John Keble has fallen";* *James Douglas* (1861), Superior of the missionary brotherhood of St. Augustine in South Africa, in whose memory a

* Article in the *Church Times*, November 5, 1897, "A Representative Church Poet."

church has been built at Ladybrand; *Reginald Fitzhugh Bigg-Wither* (1860), Warden of St. Thomas's Home, Basingstoke, an authority on the Eastern Church; *John William Horsley* (1863), the popular Clerkenwell Gaol Chaplain ("I think he is one of us—turned, you know," said a prisoner to a friend); *Sir John Scott* (1860), K.C.M.G., D.C.L., Judge Advocate-General, whose name will for ever remain connected with the reform, effected with immense labour and patience, of the judicial and criminal system of Egypt; Sir John was this year elected an Honorary Fellow of Pembroke; *Sydney Prior Hall* (1862), Knight of the Order of the Saviour, the talented black-and-white artist, once the caricaturist of the University; *William Charles Edmund Newbolt* (1863), Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's, formerly Principal of Ely Theological College; *James Hamilton Wylie* (1863), the eminent historian; and others who have served their generation.

JEUNE AS MASTER.

Jeune was not an Arnold. While reforming Statutes, tearing down the ivy of prescription, and pushing aside vested interests, he had scant time or inclination for the pastoral and paternal side of his office. His influence and teaching were stimulating; he would single out individuals for undonnish talk and unconventional advice. He would behind cynicism hide kindness, and conceal frank good nature under a rough manner. But the influence which he exerted was confined to a few clever men; in dull or average ones he was not interested. He did not do much, I gather, to deepen the religious

life of the undergraduates, or to promote human relations between them and the Dons. Sermons were dropped in the Chapel, and the Master's Sunday morning Greek Testament lecture (the only one taken by him) startled the men by a purposely flippant manner at least as often as it awakened thoughtfulness by originality of observation.* Jeune's unconcealed "*nolo non episcopari*" was born of no vulgar ambition but of the consciousness of his great governing powers. But he was ever the ruler rather than the shepherd. Capable, according to Mr. Gladstone, of discharging the functions of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was yet careless about everything that he considered unimportant. Scarcely any College lists or memoranda were kept by him, and "*sine ulla sollemnitate*" was the rule which prevailed under his *régime*. He is recorded to have held a College Meeting once upon the stairs.

VICE-CHANCELLOR. MASTER'S HOUSE ENLARGED.

Dr. Jeune was Vice-Chancellor from 1858 to 1862. With a view to this event £1500 was spent on the enlargement of the Master's Lodgings, chiefly by the addition of another storey, dwarfing the adjacent Tower. The Heir to the Throne was matriculated in this House October 17, 1859.

* I must, however, take this opportunity of correcting the story, which I have been responsible for printing, of Jeune preaching at St. Mary's from the text St. Matthew x. 25. The words which caused a smile to pass from face to face were not the text, but occurred incidentally, and without humorous intent, in the course of the sermon, which now lies before me.

PROPOSED NEW CHAPEL.

In 1858 the advowson of St. Aldate's, bestowed on the College by a King of England, being sold for £1040 Consols, it was proposed to set aside this sum as the nucleus of a fund for building a Gothic Chapel ; but this was not done. Certainly the money was not spent on the new Hall, so that the saying that Jeune sold a church to build a dining-room is not true.

The Almanack top of 1858 gives a view of the New Court of Pembroke.

JEUNE MADE A BISHOP.

In January, 1864, Lord Palmerston laid Jeune's name before the Queen for the Deanery of Lincoln, but he had hardly left Oxford when he was chosen for the Sec of Peterborough. He died after a brief episcopate, August 21, 1868, of heart disease, and was succeeded by Magee. His really important work had been at Oxford and at Pembroke, which he raised for a time to the rank almost of a leading College. Jeune's handsome features are depicted in the portrait by Tweedie which hangs over the high table in Hall. In the Bishop's son-in-law, *Dr. Edward Hamilton Gifford*, formerly Headmaster of Birmingham School and Archdeacon of London, Pembroke numbers among its members a Cambridge Senior Classic. Dr. Gifford incorporated in 1889.

THE RIVER.

The vigorous life of the College during Jeune's Mastership extended to the Rowing Club. The

University was represented at Putney by *Henry Lewis*, *Henry Stedman Polehampton* (the "hero-chaplain of Lucknow," where he was killed; Fellow 1845-56), *William Oliver Meade-King*, *Thomas Aylesbury Hooper*, *George Lilly Mellish*, *Richard Newman Townsend* (who also died heroically at the post of duty, 1877) and *John Arkell* (now Rector of St. Ebbe's), not to mention a number of oarsmen who were selected for the Trial Eights. In 1847, five years after the foundation of the Boat Club, the Torpid was second, and the Eight, the fastest boat on the river, third. In 1852 the Ladies' Plate at Henley fell to the College. Thenceforward for eight years it was represented in the University Eight. 1854 was a memorable year, when three thwarts in the easily victorious Oxford Eight were filled by Pembroke men, and a College Four won the Stewards' Cup at Henley. But it was far eclipsed by 1857, when the Torpid went to second place (and next year to Head of the River), the Eight rose seven places, the Four at Henley carried off the Wyfold Challenge Cup from the London and Henley crews, and, after a magnificent contest, beat the Lady Margaret, representing Cambridge, for the Visitors' Cup, while the Eight rowed a splendid race for the Ladies' Plate. Mr. Arkell and *Pownoll William Phipps* won the Silver Oars in the O.U.B.C. Pairs. Mr. Arkell, Mr. Phipps, and *Charles Paine Pauli* helped on the Eton water to vanquish the best Eight ever turned out by Eton, the University Fours were won by Pembroke with ridiculous ease, Mr. Arkell stroked the defeated Oxford Eight at Henley, rowed three in the Eight which beat Cambridge on the Thames by ten lengths, and finally was elected President

of the O.U.B.C. He rowed at Putney in 1858, and in 1859 (stroke), and that year was stroke of the winning Oxford Pair at Henley. *Ronald Henry Cheatle* and *Philip Edward Poppe* rowed, and *William Richard Portal* steered, in the Trials. In 1860 a handsome Cup was given for Fours by the *Rev. Henry Mowld Robinson, D.D.*, Warden of Chardstock, &c. The "Christ Church Cup," a token of inter-collegiate gratitude, dates from 1850. In 1862 the present Barge was purchased.

THE SCHOOLS.

Dr. Jeune's Vice-Chancellorship then coincided with a period of great aquatic glory for so small a College. In 1858 also the Arnold Historical Essay was won by the future historian, *Richard Watson Dixon* (English Poem on a Sacred Subject, 1863), the Craven Scholarship by *Herbert Craven*, and the Ellerton Theological Essay by *Edwin Hatch*, while *Edward Moore* (Principal of St. Edmund Hall) was *proxime accessit* for the Mathematical Scholarship (won in 1853 and 1856 by *Charles Joseph Faulkner*). In 1859 *Frederick Phipps Onslow* was Vinerian Scholar. In 1860 *George Rolleston* became Linacre Professor of Anatomy, and *Robert Main* (Fellow of Queen's, Cambridge) Radcliffe's Observer. A brilliant First-class man of the College, *Charles Edward Oakley*, Johnson Theological Scholar in 1855, in after life a leader of the Low-church party, was Examiner in Law and History that year; so that the College may be said never to have stood higher than at this date. I am not sure, however, that Dr. Jeune's Mastership of twenty years was a period of great distinction for the College in the Schools.

As already remarked, he neither himself gave, nor made his lieutenants give, much personal interest and attention to individual men, unless they were of striking brilliancy. For the old-fashioned scholarship he cared little. The establishment of the Natural Science, Law and Modern History Schools is to be chiefly ascribed to him, as well as the working out of the Local Examination scheme.

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS.

Jeune's Protestantism was of the pre-critical and orthodox school. Henney, in whose memory the *Henney Scholarship* was founded in 1863, and *Thomas Douglas Page*, the Master's son-in-law, were unecclesiastically minded.* But the Pembroke tutors in 1850, *Messrs. Bartholomew Price* and *Evan Evans*, signed the Tutors' Protest against the Gorham Judgment. Among the undergraduates the High-church revival has strongly flowed, ebbed, and flowed again.† But Pembroke also supplied an editor to the *Record*, preachers to the Martyrs' Memorial, and a co-founder to the Church Army. About twenty years ago both the Evangelicals and the high Catholics were unusually strongly represented among the juniors, not altogether antagonistically. The Scotsmen and philosophers were also a force.

* *Canon R. B. Webb*, R.D. of Clare, S. Australia, writes that he remembers *Page*, while only a deacon, performing alone the whole Morning Service on Whitsunday. He omitted the special Psalms and *Quicumque vult*, gave the blessing, &c. There was no Celebration.

† The "Catholic mind but Protestant stomach" reply to the reproof addressed to a Pembroke Puseyite for attending Hall on Friday, which I have quoted in my larger history, p. 488, was really as I ought to have remembered, a quotation from Erasmus.

But this comes under Dr. Evans's Mastership. It is said that no one cares now for anything but bodily exercise (which profiteth a little), and records and averages (which profit not at all). Oxford is no longer Matthew Arnold's serene city and adorable dreamer, but extremely wideawake, out of sympathy with "lost" or any other "causes," with "loyalties" possible or impossible, and bustlingly anxious to be abreast of the times. What England thinks to-day, Oxford will think to-morrow. The ideals, mediævalist or Liberal, which made the beginning of the Queen's reign so interesting, are flat and forgotten—in part realised and stale, in part exploded and dead. No illusions remain nor any expectations. Everything is reformed. Everybody is perfect. And the great orb of the Nineteenth Century sinks comfortably below the horizon in a shapeless bank of grey cloud, shot here and there with angry streaks of red.

CHAPTER XVIII

DR. EVANS'S MASTERSHIP, 1864-91;

MASTERSHIP OF DR. PRICE,

1892-99

Dr. Evan Evans, of Welsh ancestry, was originally at Jesus College, but migrated to Pembroke. He was elected Fellow in 1843, and was afterwards Tutor, Déan, and Vice-gerent. He was elected Master March 3, 1864. The choice being supposed to hover between him and the other Tutor, a licensed jester wrote the bantering lines whose ending may be quoted, perhaps, without disrespect:

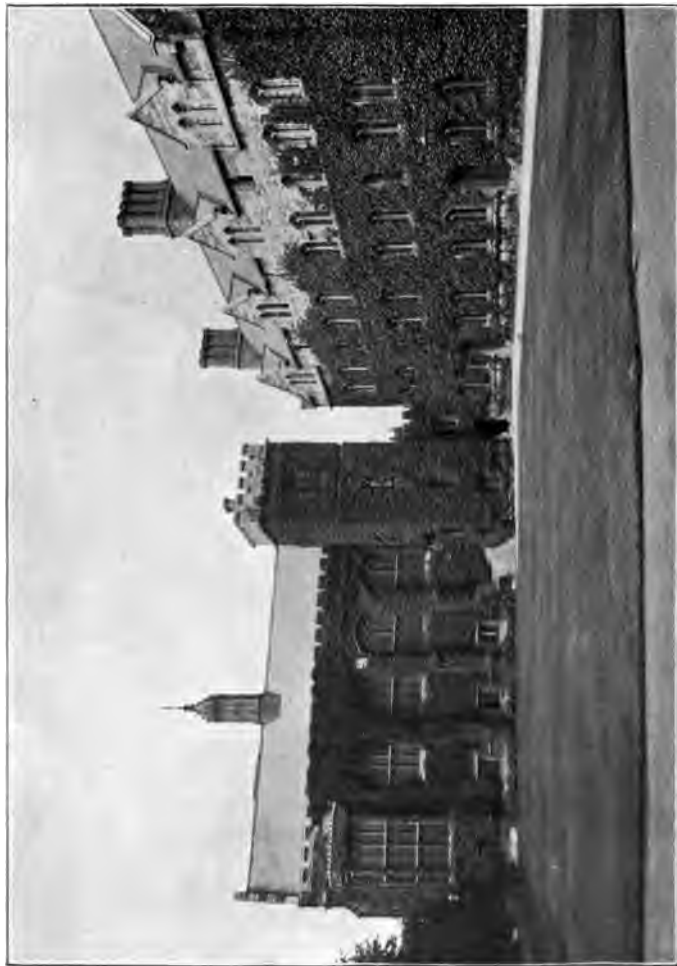
“We won't have Evans at any price,

And as for Price,—O 'Eavens !”

No Master, however, was ever more popular than he whom the undergraduates affectionately called “the Old Man.” The “good grey head” was a familiar sight in the cricket-field and on the College barge.

ROWING.

That period saw the Red Rose Head of the River both in Eights (1872, and for two nights in 1874) and Torpids (1877, 1878 and 1879), and produced such splendid oarsmen as *Robert Lesley* (President of the



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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

O.U.B.C. 1871-74), *Richard Stovin Mitchison* and his brother *Arthur Moore Mitchison*, both Etonians, *Henry McDougall Courtenay*, and *Herbert Burrows Southwell*, now Principal of Lichfield Theological College, who rowed for the University in 1878, 1879, and 1880. I am only mentioning actual "Blues," but the name should not be forgotten of *Sir Louis Addin Kershaw*, Chief Justice of Bombay, who so lately died in the midst of a distinguished career. He stroked one of the Trial Eights in 1866. I may add two prelates who came up in 1870 and rowed, *Henry Evington*, Bishop of Kiushu, and *William Marlborough Carter*, Bishop of Zululand, head of the Eton Mission 1880-90. He rowed in the Eight and at Henley. At Henley Pembroke won the Thames Challenge Cup in 1868, the Ladies' Plate in 1871, and the Visitors' Challenge Cup in 1872. In 1891, the last year of Dr. Evans's Mastership, the Eight made five bumps in four nights. The College Silver Sculls were presented in 1868 by *Herbert Augustus Salwey*, a Silver Ewer by *Richard Laurence Pemberton* (High Sheriff of Durham 1861) to commemorate the Eight going Head in 1872, and Silver Goblets for coxswainless pairs by *Arthur Kershaw Elworthy* and *George Mervyn Lawson* in 1889.

CRICKET AND ATHLETICS.

Pembroke has been a rowing rather than a cricketing College, but it has had a certain number of "Blues." The names of *George Langton Hodgkinson*, of *Sir John Scott*, of the *Pattersons*, *William Harry* and *John Irvin*, and of *Edward Thornhill Beckett Simpson*, as well as of other cricketers, are remembered with honour.

Bishop Thornhill Webber was a useful member of the College Eleven. In the Inter-University Sports *Henry William Russell Domvile*, *Edgar Rogers Holland*, and *Percy Robert Lloyd* have achieved victories for Oxford. *Arthur Glyndwr Foulkes* won several triumphs with the rifle. And other names might be mentioned. This very year a freshman, *Charles Vincent Fox*, has won the Sculls on the Isis, the Liffey and the Seine. The in-College Sports were instituted in 1856. Prebendary Hodgkinson, mentioned above, writes :

"I wonder whether you would care for a reminiscence of dear old Dr. Evans. In 1857 I was asked to play for Oxford, and was in for my *vivâ voce* in Smalls on the very day of the match. What was I to do? I consulted the Dean.

"*E.* Well, ah—have you, ah, a marriage in the family? *H.* No, sir, I am afraid not.

"*E.* Surely you can arrange a christening? *H.* I am afraid not, sir.

"*E.* What, not even a funeral? *H.* No, sir.

"*E.* Well, then, I suppose we must tell the truth.

"Whereupon he put on his gown, walked off to the Vice-Chancellor (Sewell of New College), told him the difficulty, got me permission to go in first day for *vivâ voce*, and so I was able to play. Ever after that Evans was my fast friend."

THE COLLEGE PLATE.

In 1869 the present Kitchen was built. Until 1847 it had been located in the south-west corner of the Old Quadrangle, and after the building of the new Hall it was where the servants' hall now is. Visitors to the

College are usually taken to see the plate-room, where is a noble store of silver, containing many beautiful specimens of the great periods of silversmiths' art—none, however, earlier than the Commonwealth, except a silver-mounted canette of the Elizabethan time, recently presented; for the good custom of giving “a plate” to the College did not die out with the Gentlemen-Commoners. So abundant is the supply of tankards and “tuns”—two of the oldest of these are really “tumblers”—that strangers dining in Hall have sometimes been given glass to drink out of, as a mark of distinction.

GRACES.

Until about 1870 the signal for Grace was given by the senior Fellow striking two of the old wooden trenchers together, which were used for bread and cheese. The former of the Graces was only introduced in 1887. The latter is the one composed by Camden while an undergraduate. Johnson said he could repeat it to the close of his life.

GRACE BEFORE MEAT.

Pro hoc cibo, quem ad alimonium corporis nostri sanctificatum es largitus, nos Tibi, Pater omnipotens, reverenter gratias agimus; simul obsecrantes ut cibum angelorum, panem verum coelestem, Dei Verbum aeternum Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum nobis impertiare, ut Eo mens nostra pascatur, et per carnem et sanguinem Ejus alamur, foveamur, corroboremur.

GRACE AFTER MEAT.

Gratias Tibi agimus, Deus misericors, pro acceptis a Tuâ bonitate alimentis; enixe comprecantes ut serenissimam

nostram Reginam Victoriam, totam Regiam Familiam,
populumque Tuum universum tutâ in pace semper
custodias.

A Form of Prayer is used on the day of the Commemoration of Founders and Benefactors, which is usually a Thursday close to the Fifth of November.

A NEW COMMISSION.

If Dr. Evans's kindly *régime* was one of repose after the stress of the preceding era, it was marked nevertheless by a new reforming Commission, appointed in 1877. This Commission divided Fellowships into tutorial and ordinary (or septennial), the former to be vacated by marriage. There must be one Fellow in Holy Orders, residing and giving religious instruction, and the College may at any time elect another, or even two, such for a like purpose. Four Scholarships, of at least £75, are reserved for candidates from Abingdon School, if sufficient in learning, and the other local connexions are for the most part retained, with a similar *proviso*, which has been often acted upon. All Founders' kin preferences were abolished. The Stafford and Oades Foundations were united, and opened to candidates outside the College, but the condition of poverty was retained. The Boulter and Ratcliff Foundations were amalgamated, and freed from any other restriction, in 1857. The Commissioners might have made more sweeping changes had not the College—reversing in this its relation to the earlier Commission—held their hand.

DR. EVANS, VICE-CHANCELLOR 1878-82.

Dr. Evans's Vice-Cancellariate (1878-82) coincided with this period of University transformation. The splendid Examination Schools (and ball-rooms) built during his time of office in the High Street symbolise the final change of the old order to the new. The scene sculptured on the outside, of a conferring of degrees, preserves in stone the features of the Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Evans's portrait in the College, by Mr. Oules, R.A., was subscribed for in 1883.

DOROTHEA WIGHTWICK FOUNDATION.

Though the Richard Wightwicke and Francis Wightwicke foundations are now merged in the corporate fund, the family name is still connected with valuable *Scholarships* by a benefaction of £5000 given in 1889 by *Dorothea*, relict of *Stubbs Wightwick*, Esq., of Great Bloxwich, Staffs, and Capel Court, Glos, herself of Wightwick and Staffordshire descent. Pastels (by Dighton and Burt) of her husband, the last representative of his family in the main line, are in the Common Room parlour. These Scholarships carry remote foundress's-kin preferences, but are chiefly in favour of Cheltenham College.

LOCAL CONNEXIONS RETAINED.

The College is thus connected with five schools in Gloucestershire, with Eton, Charterhouse, Abingdon, and the schools in Guernsey and Jersey—ten schools in all. The Master is a Canon of Gloucester; one of the seven College benefices, Coln St. Dennis, is in that

county; another, Lydiard Millicent, in that diocese. But the Gloucestershire limitation of the Ratcliff Exhibition is abolished; so also is the connexion through Sir John Philipps's foundation with Pembrokeshire, though the meagre benefice of West Haroldston remains in the gift of the College.

PURCHASE OF THE WOLSEY ALMSHOUSE.

It has been mentioned that the Rev. Christopher Cleobury's bequest, amounting to £12,800, did not fall in till 1882. The larger portion of this was to be applied for the renovation or rebuilding of any parts of the College, or for adding to it by the acquisition of the Wolsey Alms house or otherwise, or for purchasing and removing the houses standing on the north side of St. Aldate's, part (that is) of Pembroke Street. An effigy of King James was also to be placed over the entrance gateway. The Alms house project was now pushed forward again, but it was not till 1888 that the College, for the substantial sum of £11,000, of which £6000 was Cleobury money, acquired a building which always had looked part of Pembroke, and which six or seven centuries ago belonged to the original Richard Segrym. It is not at present used for Collegiate purposes, but as a private house. Professor G. J. Romanes * died there after several years' residence. If the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would permit the sale of Cuddesdon, the Wolsey Hospital, so close to the Cathedral, would serve admirably, it has been thought, for the palace of the Bishops of Oxford.

* There is a pretty photograph of the little Quadrangle in his *Life*.

STATUE OF KING JAMES I.

A statue of the royal Founder was placed not over the entrance to the College but in a niche in the Hall tower. This tower contains the muniments.

THE CHANDLER LIBRARY.

In 1890 galleries were added to the Library, to make room below for the valuable philosophical collection of a not soon to be forgotten Fellow, *Henry Chandler*, Waynflete Professor 1867–89, that weird, lovable, fiercely tender, pagan old Conservative,—Peripatetic, Cynic, Stoic,—whom I remember beginning a racy lecture—public but thinly attended—with the words: “There’s some scamp of a German: I don’t know whether he’s alive or dead, but if he’s dead he’s no loss to the world: who says as follows.” “Six dozen well laid on” was his unfailing prescription for the “German fellows” and their English admirers. I think he kept J. S. Mill under his bed, grudging him shelf-room. Poor Chandler lived in constant pain; those who knew him best can say how bravely borne. After his melancholy death in his rooms he was found to have in gratitude made one his heir under whose roof he had ever found a welcome and delicate kindness, Mrs. Sophia Evans, wife of the Master, and his library was by her presented to the College. It was Professor Chandler that prevented the Bodleian from being converted into a kind of glorified Mudie’s. He hardly ever left Oxford, and when he did do so he would not, it is said, look out a train, but sat in the station, his small baggage on his knees, till one arrived.

DISTINCTIONS WON IN THE SCHOOLS.

Chandler was not the only stimulating lecturer in the College, and both in literature and philosophy many distinctions were won by Pembroke men. *Duncan Herbert Hastings Wilson* was Taylor Scholar in 1866. *Robert Lawrence Ottley* (Senior student of Christ Church, Tutor of Keble, Fellow and Dean of Magdalen, Principal of Pusey House, Bampton Lecturer 1897) won the Latin Verse in 1876, the Hertford in 1878, the Craven in 1879, the Derby Scholarship in 1879, and was *proxime* for the Ireland in 1877 and again in 1878. *Andrew Goldie Wood* obtained the Latin Verse in 1872, the English Essay in 1873, the Junior Septuagint Prize in 1873, and the Ellerton Theological Essay in 1874, and had published some promising verse before his early death in 1874. *Christopher Henry Edmund Heath* obtained the University Mathematical Scholarship in 1868, *George Edward Jeans* (Fellow of Hertford) won the Gaisford in 1871 and the Latin Essay in 1872. *Reginald Merrick Fowler* (H.M. Inspector of Schools) the Latin Essay in 1874. *Henry Arnold Tubbs* was Craven Fellow in 1888 and won the Arnold Historical Essay in 1889. *James Alexander Paterson* was Pusey and Ellerton Scholar in 1874, and Hall-Houghton Prizeman in 1876. *Herbert Burrows Southwell* was Denyer and Johnson Scholar in 1881, *James Henry Sedgwick* Chinese Scholar in 1885, *James Stuart Seaton* Vinerian Scholar in 1886. The Burdett-Coutts Scholarship was won in 1886 by *William Henry Corfield*, Fellow, who was Radcliffe Travelling Fellow in 1867; in 1875 by *William Bruce Clarke*; in

1883 by *Frederick William Andrewes*, Fellow. *Albert Bonus* was a Hall-Houghton Prizeman in 1879, and *Augustus Robert Buckland* in 1881. *Charles William Mansell Moullin*, Fellow (Hunterian Professor, R.C.S.), was elected Radcliffe Travelling Fellow in 1875, and *Herbert Pennell Hawkins* in 1886. *Charles Leudesdorf*, Fellow (Senior Proctor 1887), won the Herschell Astronomical Prize in 1873 and was Mathematical Scholar in 1874 (*proxime* 1873).

ARNOLD TOYNBEE.

I must here mention the name of *Arnold Toynbee*, shown only by the fates to Pembroke. After much pondering upon his career, this young enthusiast fixed upon Oxford and on Pembroke, and was admitted as a Commoner February 5, 1873. The following from the *Spectator* (December 1, 1894) is a summary of the facts :

“Toynbee's career was only too short. Born in 1852 he died in 1883, and yet, in the short interval between his coming of age and his death, he managed to include two lives—a life of meditation and a life of study. Dr. Jowett, the Master of Balliol, managed to draw him away from Pembroke to Balliol, in spite of his not being one of those who read for honours; and even though he took an ordinary degree—though the papers he gave in were very remarkable papers—he was selected to be a Balliol tutor and lecturer, and at once plunged into all the eager life of a social reformer.”

It must be added that, Pembroke refusing to acquiesce in this irregular migration, Toynbee left Oxford and matriculated afresh in the autumn of 1874. A similar

thing happened in 1875 in the case of a promising Exhibitioner of Pembroke, afterwards editor of a leading London newspaper, who was elected at Balliol without the knowledge of the Pembroke authorities.

VICISSITUDES.

Dr. Evans's reign, as we have seen, was not barren in University distinctions. The pass-men also were well cared for and taught. When I came up in 1875 the College was so full that we freshmen had to dine at a table in the middle of the Hall. In that year *Arthur Sloman*, afterwards Headmaster of Birkenhead, was President of the Union. Nevertheless the adverse conditions which depress a small, slenderly endowed and unadvertised College began to make themselves felt. The brilliant periods of such institutions are precarious. In the last few years of Dr. Evans's life—he died November 23, 1891, aged seventy-seven—failing powers curtailed his activity as Head of the College, which had fallen greatly in numbers. When the appointment of his successor became necessary, the idea of giving Pembroke a new start by importing some energetic influence from outside the College commended itself to a portion of the Society, while others considered this undesirable.

DR. PRICE ELECTED MASTER 1892.

In the event, the new Master was appointed by the Marquess of Salisbury, as Visitor, his choice falling on the Vice-gerent, the *Rev. Bartholomew Price, F.R.S.*, a septuagenarian, but one whose keenness and mental vigour were unabated by years. Dr. Price's Mastership

lasted exactly seven years. He had, when he died, kept from his matriculation two hundred and forty-eight terms of residence without the break of a week (Pembroke has always, till quite recently, counted four terms to the year), his academic life of sixty-two uninterrupted years thus covering almost a twelfth part of the life of the University. To long experience he united extraordinary shrewdness and business capacity, which made him a supreme authority, as Curator of the Chest, on University finance. As Perpetual Delegate of the Clarendon Press he exercised a paramount influence in its publishing and financial departments, and the great position which the Oxford Press now holds is due largely to Dr. Price. He was a Royal Commissioner for inquiring into the property and income of the Universities and Colleges in 1872, was a Curator of the Bodleian Library, Sedleian Professor of Natural Philosophy (1853-99), a member of the Hebdomadal Council from 1856, and filled many other offices in and out of Oxford. He published a number of mathematical treatises, and was at one time the leading mathematical tutor in the University. The portrait of the late Master in the possession of the College was painted in 1896 by Mr. Marmaduke Flower. Some may think that he was singularly like the pictures of Sir Thomas White, Founder of St. John's. A dry exterior hid a very affectionate nature.

ELECTION TO THE MASTERSHIP OF BISHOP MITCHINSON,
1899.

And here it may be discreet to stop, merely recording the unanimous election to the Mastership, in February

last, of one of the most eminent sons of Pembroke in modern times, the *Right Rev. John Mitchinson, D.C.L.*, Fellow and Honorary Fellow, at one time Headmaster of King's School, Canterbury, from 1873 to 1881 Bishop of Barbados and the Windward Isles, and from 1881 Coadjutor to the Bishop of Peterborough. But *quæ regio*, what diocese, he might ask, is *nostrî non plena laboris*?

CONCLUSION.

Looking back four or five years it is satisfactory to notice that, besides other University prizes, not only has the Newdigate fallen to Pembroke (in 1897)—for in the lesser Colleges the poetical undergraduate is still not extinct—but also (in 1895) the Latin Verse.

High thinking is kept alive by the "Johnson" Society, which celebrated its 500th meeting on June 23, 1896, and impromptu thinking by the long-established Debating Society. Commemoration Week has for generations been led off by the Pembroke Musical Society's Concert, and the Junior Common Room is now in its hundred and sixth year of existence—the oldest of Oxford wine-clubs. The annual Pembroke Dinner, begun in 1887, is held in London in the Cricket Match Week.

In the Diplomatic field and in that of Journalism the College has lately been prominently represented.* It has an able resident staff, which is not so small as it

* A brilliant career has but now (Jan. 17, 1900) been closed by the death from fever in besieged Ladysmith of Mr. George Warrington Steevens, Fellow of the College. As I add this note (Jan. 24) the death of an Honorary Fellow, Canon R. W. Dixon, D.D., the historian and poet, is announced. Mr. Swinburne extols

might be were the rule of celibacy not in force at Pembroke, but which is unfortunately depleted by vacant Fellowships, until better days.

It is a pleasure to lay down one's pen at a time when the College is full of undergraduates, and a thoroughly harmonious and patriotic feeling unites all its members, senior and junior. The plethora aimed at by institutions some of whose members have never slept within the walls may have its own glory; but it is only when men are kept together, and every one knows every one, that it is possible for a type to be created. When, recently, the Queen Regent of the Netherlands resigned her functions into her daughter's hands, the wish was breathed by her Majesty that in whatsoever a small country could be great Holland might be great. It is not given to a small College to be all that larger and wealthier ones are, but it can resolve in the future, as in the past, not to fall short of its appointed measure of usefulness and honour.

the "triumphant success" and "wonderful power and grace" of his verse, and thought that he should be Laureate. Mr. Gosse writes, "Hereafter the delicate memory of one of the truest of our poets must be more fully revived."



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ADDENDA.

PAGE 8.—Docklington's Aisle was properly styled "the chantry of the chapel (or altar) of Blessed Mary in St. Aldate's Church." Bishop Bekynton's arms (see p. 16) were in the west window.

PAGE 18.—Walter Benham represented Oxford in Parliament, 1402.

PAGE 110.—Among Clayton's books is a Nuremburg Chronicle (1493), stamped with Whitgift's arms. Minutius of Volaterra has written in it that Master Pynson the Printer gave it to himself in 1498. Thomas Anyan gave it to Clayton.

PAGE 116.—Richard Wythigge sate in Parliament for Oxford City in 1429, 1431; Thomas Wythyg in 1449. But for this name see Hurst's "Oxford Topography" (1899), p. 108, *n.* 2.

PAGE 117.—Richard Emlay deceased (it appears by Woods' *City*, vol. iii. ed. Clark, 1899) in 1435, not 1335.

PAGE 175.—Mr. J. C. Fowler died, full of years, December 20th, 1899.

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